

TELL BASTA

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TELL BASTA

BY
LABIB HABACHI



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(sous séquestre)
MCMLVII

*To the Memory of
GUY BRUNTON (1888-1948),
To whom I Owe my First Acquaintance with Methods of Excavations,
This Book is Dedicated.*

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PREFACE

The present volume gives the result of our excavations and study made in Tell Basta and the environs during about three months in 1939 and seven months in 1943-1944. During that interval of time we were able to discover a temple of Pepi I dedicated to Bastet with many an interesting object mostly dating back to later periods. In the Great Temple discovered by Naville in 1887-1889, we studied its different parts, in order to establish its original form and give a description of some of its blocks which were unproperly published by the Swiss Egyptologist or even not published at all.

Outside Pepi Temple and the Great Temple we worked for a short time, the result was the discovery of some statues and traces of a Roman temple in the area round the Great Temple and a family tomb of the XXth Dynasty in the mound about 200 metres in the north of this latter temple.

This was followed by a study of the names of divinities and localities on blocks in the site and in other places round. This study showed that blocks were brought from other places to Bubastis and that some others were taken from this site to other places later.

The manuscript of the present volume was ready for publication about ten years ago, but it was not possible to publish it for many reasons, including the fact that our publications were stopped for more than three years. Nothing was added to it except for some objects of the reign of Amenophis III found later in a piece of land to the south of Pepi temple.

During my work in Tell Basta, M. Drioton paid many visits to the ruins and gave his valuable advice. He was always ready to give the necessary funds for continuing the work. Abd El-Fattah Eid took

most of the photographs, Ahmed Sidky and Maurice Farid made the tracings of the inscriptions and Fawzy Ibrahim made the different plans of the buildings. For all of them I should like to address my best thanks.

I wish to thank also Mahmoud Hamza for giving me every facility for studying and photographing all the discovered objects sent to the Cairo Museum, Prof. H. W. Fairman and Prof. G. P. G. Sobhy for being so kind as to go through the manuscript and correct it English. My gratitude is due also to my friend Dr. George Hughes, who kindly gave his advice in some of the problems I met with in dealing with some of the texts. Finally I should like to express my thanks to M. Christophe and to the Staff of the French Institute Press and in particular M. Ali Assem, the new Director, for making their best in producing this volume in the best shapt and the shortest time.

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LABIB HABACHI.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY :

BUBASTIS AND ITS MONUMENTS

RUINS OF BUBASTIS

Close to the south-eastern edge of the town of El-Zaqâziq, capital of the Sharqiya Province, lie the vast ruins of Tell Basta, which mark the site of Bubastis, the *B;st* or *Pr-b;st* of the Pharaonic periods. This town is usually considered to have been the capital of *Ímt-hnt*, or the Eighteenth nome of Lower



Fig. 1.

Egypt, but this may have been true only during the late periods. The nome does not appear in any nome-list or in any text of the Pharaonic period⁽¹⁾. It seems that the nomes of Lower Egypt numbered only sixteen in earlier times and that the Bubastite nome was among those created during the Ptolemaic period or later. Bubastis most probably belonged in the Pharaonic period to the Heliopolitan nome, for in the geographical list on the Chapel of Sesostris I rebuilt in Karnak some 20 years ago by M. Chevrier this nome has as deities Isis and Bastet (see fig. 1)⁽²⁾, and Bastet was of course the chief

⁽¹⁾ This nome seems to have been first referred to in the official list of Ptolemy II, see GAUTHIER, *Les nomes de l'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, p. 33.

⁽²⁾ For this nome, see LACAU-CHEVRIER, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, p. 235.

divinity of Bubastis⁽¹⁾. The presence of Atum, the chief god of the Heliopolitan nome, as a member of the triad of Bubastis may also show the close connection between Bubastis and that nome. Still it would be somewhat strange for Bubastis not to have been the capital of an independent nome prior to Ptolemaic times, if we were to accept the theory of many Egyptologists that it was the capital of all Egypt under some of the kings of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties⁽²⁾. These dynasties, usually called the Bubastite dynasties, are thought to have been of Libyan origin and it has been suggested that some of the kings chose Bubastis as their capital⁽³⁾. Although big halls inscribed with their names have been found on the site⁽⁴⁾, it is yet impossible to state with certainty that Bubastis was their capital and the question must be left for future excavations to settle.

Nevertheless, Bubastis was important during all the Pharaonic periods. As we shall see later, it was the chief centre of the worship of the goddess Bastet from the early periods down to the end. Its position near the Pelusiac and the Tanitic branches of the Nile and at the end of the valley known

⁽¹⁾ In this list the *Imt-hnt* or Bubastite nome does not exist. It is true that four nomes, (n^{os} 10-13) of Lower Egypt are missing from the list, but these four are nomes which are found in other lists and which are sure to have existed during the Pharaonic period, whereas the Bubastite nome does not appear in the circular nome-list shown on a late sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum of New-York (see GARDINER, *Horus the Behdetite*, in *J. E. A.*, vol. XXX, pp. 38-39 and pl. V, fig. 1), nor in any other list from the Pharaonic period. Wilson says in a recent study about the divisions of Egypt « Finally in Ptolemaic times, L(ower) E(gypt) 18 and 20 were separated out of 13 and Lower Egypt 19 was separated out of 14 », *JNES*, XIV (Oct. 1955), p. 230.

⁽²⁾ However it is true that some places chosen as capitals of Egypt were never capitals of nomes, for example the town of *Itt-twy*, the capital of Egypt during the XIIth Dynasty and perhaps also during the XIIIth Dynasty.

⁽³⁾ W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *A History of Egypt* (1905), III, p. 240; J. H. BREASTED, *A History of Egypt* (1925), p. 527 and DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte*³, pp. 527, 532.

⁽⁴⁾ Naville says « Judging from what Osorkon I. and Osorkon II. made at Bubastis, which is not seen in any other edifice in Egypt, I am inclined to think that this city was their capital and their customary residence » (*Bubastis*, p. 47). However there have been discovered important buildings erected by Osorkon II in the temple area of Tanis and in recent years his tomb has also been found there inside the temenos wall of the temple (MONTET, *Tanis*, pp. 107 ff) so that now we can say with assurance that he at least chose Tanis as his capital. Nothing, on the other hand, has been found as yet deriving from Osorkon I, hence it cannot be said that he also resided there.

now as Wādi El-Tumīlāt gave it a special commercial and political importance. Expeditions going to Sinai for turquoise and copper had to pass by it. At the same time military expeditions going to Asia by land or sea passed near it. This may have contributed to the prosperity of the town during the flourishing days of Egypt.

It is not known, on the other hand, when and how it lost its importance, but from the surviving monuments it is clear that it continued to have some importance down into the Roman period and that sometime before the end of that period it became a small town. In the account of the martyrdom of a certain Abba Shnoube in the reign of Diocletian (towards the end of the 4th century) Bubastis is referred to as a small village where Apollo, Artemis and other divinities were worshipped⁽¹⁾. It is difficult to understand why it was finally abandoned. It may be guessed however that owing to its situation at the eastern entrance to the Delta, it was destroyed in one of the invasions of Egypt and was afterwards deserted. The town which took its place in importance was Bilbeis, about 20 kms. to the south. Bilbeis began to flourish when Bubastis began to decline sometime before the end of the Roman period and eventually became one of the most important towns in the eastern part of the Delta during the Middle Ages. Strange to say, not only did Bilbeis take over the lost importance of Bubastis, but also it acquired by removal some of the remains of the ancient buildings of Bubastis, which have heretofore been regarded as the remains of a more ancient town of Bilbeis.

The ruins of Bubastis now occupy an area of about 150 acres, but we must remember that this is only a part of the original area of the town. In the last thirty years the area has greatly diminished in extent. About 37 acres of the southern part of the ruins were handed over to the Municipality of El-Zaqāzīq to serve in part as the site of a drainage installation and in part to be used as a farm (for the position of the farm and all the ruins, see plan). The military road connecting Port Said with Alexandria (via Mīt Ghamr) traverses the ruins and occupies about 3 acres of the site. It was planned that a Muslim cemetery should be transferred to the area and 8 acres

⁽¹⁾ H. MUNIER, *Fragments des actes du martyre de l'Apa Chnoubé* in *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, pp. 156-157.

were allotted for that purpose but luckily this was abandoned in the end. If one goes into the cultivated land all around, one finds them permeated with chips of different kinds of stone and fragments of pottery; a fact which shows that they were once part of the ancient city site. The mounds have also been much reduced in height in recent years, earth has long been taken from the ruins to make bricks for houses in El-Zaqâzîq or to be used as fertilizer in the neighbouring cultivated lands. Numerous lines of the Egyptian State Railways were extended into the interior of the tell beginning in about 1904 to transfer earth to distant places. This removal of earth continued for about 25 years and although many discoveries, such as that of the two hoards of gold and silver were made in the process, yet it led to the destruction of many important buildings and the loss of numerous objects, since the work was improperly done and not well supervised. From all this, it can be seen how important Bubastis once was, how vast its ruins and how much of the remains was destroyed or removed without being recorded.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES

The first excavation at Tell Basta was conducted by A. Mariette in the middle of the last century but, inasmuch as no marked success was achieved in a short time, the work was given up in favour of more promising sites. It was left to Ed. Naville to conduct successful excavations which ended in the discovery of the Great Temple of Bastet with its wonderful statues, stelae, columns and large decorated blocks. Starting in 1887 Naville worked there during three successive seasons, the results of which he published in his two books: *Bubastis*⁽¹⁾ and *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis*⁽²⁾. The result of his work may best be summarized in his own words. Speaking about the Great Temple, he says: «When we had unearthed the whole area of the temple, the view extended over a space about five hundred feet long, covered with enormous blocks of granite. It was easy to recognize from the intervals between the various heaps of stones

⁽¹⁾ Being the Eighth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (vol. 1889-1890), London 1891.

⁽²⁾ The Tenth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London 1892).

that there had been four different halls varying in their proportions. But the whole was so much ruined; besides, so many stones have been carried away, that it was impossible to make an approximate reconstruction or even a plan of what the temple must have been. Beginning from the east, the entrance hall was about eighty feet long and one hundred and sixty wide. The sculptures were chiefly of Rameses II. and Osorkon I., but there were found the two most ancient kings, Cheops and Chefren. The gateway was adorned with two large columns, with palm-leaf capitals, and outside of it stood the two great Hyksos statues. Following the axis of the building, and going towards the west, the next hall was eighty feet long by one hundred and thirty. It had no columns, but a considerable number of statues of different epochs, and was the richest in inscriptions of various times. It underwent several changes, especially under Osorkon II and will be designated by the name which the king gave it, «The Festival Hall». It contained a shrine, of which there are a few fragments left, and I should think that it was around it that Herodotus saw the beautiful trees which he mentions.

«Next came the colonnade, with two styles of columns and square pillars. It is not possible to know its width, but it was about one hundred and ninety feet long. The temple ended with the hall of Nekhthorheb, one hundred and sixty feet square. Probably there was around the temple an enclosure wall of black basalt, but traces of it are visible only near the two western halls. Nearly all the stones left are red granite, no white limestone has remained. In the hall of Nekhthorheb a great part of the building must have been made of red limestone of Gebel Ahmar, but as it is the best stone for mills and presses it has disappeared. The immense number of chips show that this part of the temple has been a regular quarry»⁽¹⁾.

Besides the Great Temple, Naville discovered two other buildings. The first was to the north of the temple, while the second was at the south-eastern end of the ruins. He says that the first «probably was a doorway or a portico (pl. XL. E-H); it was the beginning of a road paved in basalt which led to the temple. Four columns are all that is left of this construction; two of them are palm-columns, and two with lotus-bud capitals»⁽²⁾. Of the other building nothing was left

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pp. 3-4. ⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

but « a small heap of broken stones jumbled together, and which evidently were the remains of a building smaller than the Temple of Bast.» According to Naville this building was consecrated to the chief divinities of Bubastis⁽¹⁾.

In the Cat Cemetery, he made a few diggings to learn how this animal was buried. Speaking about the cemetery, he says : « Standing on the western part of the mounds of Tell Basta, and looking towards Zagazig, the visitor has before him an area of several acres, which has been dug out thoroughly. Near the numerous pits by which the place is honeycombed, are seen heaps of white bones of cats »⁽²⁾.

Such was the result of the excavations carried out by Ed. Naville during the years 1887-1889. Since that time no scientific excavations have been conducted there, but the place has always been subject to illicit digging which has often resulted in the discovery of important objects, very few of which were handed to the Department of Antiquities. The majority instead found their way to dealers. The late Mr. A. Lucas used to relate how dealing in antiquities was very active in El-Zaqâziq. Even in the railway station the dealers were always present to meet the passengers and show them objects coming mostly from Tell Basta. Rumours are still current in El-Zaqâziq about persons who became rich through a discovery which they made in the ruins nearby. Although rumours of that sort are sometimes exaggerated, yet it is highly probable that some of them are true. A great number of antiquities which are now in the Cairo Museum or in other museums and private collections came from the ruins⁽³⁾.

At the same time, many a great discovery has taken place there. Among these two are worth recording, for they may be considered the most important ever made there. The earliest was the discovery of the two famous hoards of gold and silver in 1906. On September 22nd, the workmen engaged in removing the earth for the Egyptian State Railways came across a big hoard of gold and silver about 160 metres to the west of the Temple of Bastet (see the general plan). They hid it until nightfall when they were

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁽³⁾ For the buildings and objects found in Tell Basta, see PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography IV, (Lower and Middle Egypt)*, pp. 27-35.

able to divide it among themselves. In the following days news reached the agents of the Department of Antiquities who succeeded in a short time in recovering a part of the find including the well-known silver jug with a gold goat handle (Cairo Museum 53262). The second hoard was discovered in the next month some metres from the site of the previous find. This time the workmen of the Railways had no chance to hide a single piece of the find since work was stopped as soon as the first object made its appearance. The place of the two finds was minutely examined by C. C. Edgar, Chief Inspector of Lower Egypt at that time. No building whatever was found, a fact which seems to indicate that these hoards had been buried in a secret place for safety. Still more beautiful silver and gold objects resembling those of the first hoard have since been unearthed. Some of these objects date back to the reign of Ramesses II, while the majority may be attributed to the XXVIth Dynasty⁽¹⁾.

The second discovery was also made by the labourers of the Egyptian State Railways who were working there in 1925. On August, 22nd it was reported that three chambers close together had been discovered 220 metres south-east of the southeastern corner of the Coptic cemetery (see the general plan). The news of this discovery seems to have been late in reaching the Department, for one of the rooms was found empty while nothing was found in the other two except two granite sarcophagi. One of these, decorated and in a bad state of preservation, was left *in situ* and parts of it are still to be seen beside the place where it was found. The other, which proved to be in a better state and which bore some interesting representations, was transferred to the Cairo Museum (Entry Number 49612). This latter sarcophagus is inscribed with the name of Hori II, the royal son of Kush, who lived in the reigns of Ramesses III and IV. Although nothing of interest was found with these sarcophagi, the discovery can be considered to be an important one. It shows that a great official of the Ramesside period chose to be buried in the town which was his birth-place⁽²⁾. It may be interesting to add that in 1944 we discovered the tomb of some members of his family.

⁽¹⁾ *Le Musée Egyptien*, II, p. 93 ff and pls. XLIII-LIV. For the references concerning the finds, see PORTER and MOSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

⁽²⁾ GAUTHIER, *Un vice-roi d'Éthiopie enseveli à Bubastis* in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXVIII, pp. 129-137 and pls. I, II.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AND THEIR PUBLICATION

These are some of the great discoveries previously made at Tell Basta. We have had no intention of working there until in 1939 we found some big blocks of limestone which led to the discovery of the temple of Pepi I (see the general plan). It then became of considerable importance to clear most of that temple as soon as possible in order to learn what a temple of the Old Kingdom looked like. It took us five months to clear the most important parts of the temple, and we hope to be able sometime to clear the remainder. In the next chapter we shall give a brief account of the discovery of the temple, describing at the same time the temenos wall, the gateway and the sanctuary.

Nothing was found inside the temple except bones of animals, a few human burials, some flint implements and pottery vases. To these we shall devote the third chapter and shall deal at the same time with the importance of the discovery of the temple, the nature of the building and the names of the town and its chief deity during the reign of Pepi I.

During our work in the Pepi temple we began to examine the Great Temple of Bastet and the area around it. Making some soundings in that area we found that it contained some important objects and buildings, but as these were under the huge mounds of debris left by Naville, it was decided to postpone further examination until we can dispose of this debris. We shall devote the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters to a study of the Great Temple publishing those blocks which escaped the notice of Naville, republishing those which were wrongly copied and trying to give an idea of the probable form of each part of the temple.

Thus in the fourth chapter, we shall study the inscriptions on the so-called portico or doorway. This study will prove that the building was dedicated to the son of Bastet and was not merely a portico or entrance as Naville believed. We shall also discuss the inscriptions on two statues in the Entrance Hall. These inscriptions have been taken as referring to the goddess Bastet, but they prove, as we shall see, to be related to a king and a queen, possibly to Ramesses II and one of his wives.

In the fifth chapter which deals with the Festival and Hypostyle Halls, we publish two blocks from the first hall which went unnoticed by Naville. In the second hall we discovered a huge Hathor capital which we transferred to the Cairo Museum. In a study of it, we shall show that all the capitals of this type in Bubastis are all of the same dimensions and that there are not large and small ones as Naville suggested. We shall examine these capitals and the papyrus-bud columns found nearby and trace their evolution from the Old Kingdom to the Empire.

The sixth chapter is wholly devoted to the building erected by Nektanebos II (Nekht-har-hebi). In studying the various parts of the building we found that many blocks had escaped the notice of Naville. We shall here publish these, in an attempt to give an approximate idea of the nature of the building. From this it will be clear that the building had the form of a temple with a court and a few sanctuaries and was not merely a hall as Naville held.

Having thus dealt with our work in both the Pepi Temple and the Great Temple, in the seventh chapter we shall take up our work outside these buildings. This work was carried out in the area around the Great Temple. On the east side the sparse remains of a Roman Temple were brought to light. On the south side large portions of three statues from the New Empire and the Saitic period were picked up.

The mound about 200 ms. to the north of the Great Temple was also examined and the result was the discovery of a family tomb of Hori I, viceroy of Kush, who lived in the reign of Setnakht-Ramesses III. In an area lying at about 160 ms. to the south of the Pepi I Temple traces of a building of sun-dried bricks and two objects from the reign of Amenophis III were unearthed. These finds show that he too erected a chapel in Bubastis.

Such is the work done in the ruins of that town. The results of our work at Tell Basta, we believe, will show the importance of the place in all periods. They also prove that it was known in all periods by the name of Bast or Bubastis and that Bastet was always its chief deity. With these facts established, in the eighth chapter we shall proceed to show that many blocks were transferred from other sites to be used in building the Great Temple and to point out other deities who were worshipped in the town with Bastet.

In the ninth and last chapter, we shall study blocks found at various sites in the neighbourhood. These contain the same deities and place-names as are found on blocks in Bubastis itself, thus showing that they came from the ruins of that town. The most important of these sites is the town of Bilbeis where many a block has been found since the end of the last century. Bilbeis has always been considered to have been of some importance in the Pharaonic period, but we shall demonstrate that it cannot boast of an antiquity equal to that of Bubastis and that the inscribed blocks to be found there were taken from the ruins of the temples of Bubastis. Bubastis borrowed stones from other place in the Pharaonic periods, still others must have done the same later.

On our General Plan of the ruins of Tell Basta annexed to the present book, we have marked the position of the principal buildings and of our discoveries, and we have indicated the location of some of the modern buildings for the convenience of the reader. In indicating the places where two hoards of gold and silver and the tomb of Hori II were found, we have been guided by the informations given by those who published the finds and been aided also by eye-witnesses of the uncovering. To fix the position of the Temple of Atum and the extent of the Cat Cemetery we made soundings in the places which were vaguely referred to by Naville. We hope that the reader will be able to gain a good idea of the general appearance of the ruins with the help of the plan. This plan was made by the late Fawzi Ibrahim, the capable surveyor of the Department who passed away last year.

CHAPTER II

THE TEMPLE OF PEPI I [I]:

DESCRIPTION

DISCOVERY OF THE TEMPLE

In March 1939, I first visited Tell Basta and on that occasion passed some hours going through the ruins and examining the ancient site. About one hundred and forty metres to the west of the Great Temple of Bastet discovered by Naville, I saw a large block of limestone about 60 cm. high, 160 cm. long and 100 cm. thick. This block, so I was told, had been unearthed some days previously by the labourers who were engaged in removing earth from the ruins to raise the level of the Military Road which crossed the Tell. When the block was found the labourers were ordered to work in another place and the block was left *in situ*. Although it was unpolished, its sides were more or less regular and I decided to clear all around it. After a few hours of work more blocks were found close to it. When the last block to the south was cleared it proved, to my surprise, to bear a scene in relief representing Pepi I with some divinities.

This attracted my attention to the remains of two four-sided pillars of the same material which were still standing about sixty metres to the north on almost the same axis. Upon digging around them I found that they were the upper portions of two tall pillars and that there were two shorter ones on the same line, all of them standing on square bases (see Plan of Temple). On some of these pillars there was a vertical line of inscription, more or less complete, which contained the cartouche of one of the Pepi Kings. It was clear that these pillars were in their original places and that they formed part of a building dating back to the Sixth Dynasty. It also seemed possible even then that there was some connection between these pillars and the blocks alluded to above since they were on the same axis and were probably of the

same period, for the name of the king on the pillars was probably that of Pepi I as were those on the one decorated block.

When I reported this discovery to the Department of Antiquities, I received a small grant which enabled me to work for nearly three months. The work was then stopped and it was not possible to resume it until 1943-1944 when we obtained another grant to work for two more months. Although the area is still far from being completely excavated, we were able to clear the most important parts of the building. We dug all around the large blocks and they proved to be the roof of a big gate in the temenos wall (Pl. I A). This wall, which extended for a long distance, could not possibly be cleared in its entirety, but we were able to clear downwards about a metre from the top on both sides of it. The area surrounding the pillars was minutely examined and remains of four more pillars were unearthed, thus indicating eight pillars arranged in two rows (Pl. I B). All these were built within a chamber of mud bricks which had a door of limestone opening to the east. Two side trenches were dug to see if there was any other important building within the temenos wall. One trench extended from the east to the west wall passing by the door of the chamber and across the middle of the rows of pillars. The other trench ran from the doorway to the middle of the northern wall passing along the length of the two rows of pillars. Only buildings of late date and a few poor objects were found. Although no soundings or diggings were made in other areas within the girdle wall, it appeared improbable that any other structure contemporary with the Pepi I remains was yet to be discovered. At the corners of the temenos wall soundings were made in a search for any foundation deposit but nothing important was found.

It was evident that a temple dating to the reign of Pepi I had been discovered. The temple consisted of the chamber with the pillars, which may be considered to have been the sanctuary, built inside the temenos wall (For this see 'Plan of Pepi I Temple' annexed to this book). Since these important parts of the temple were of limestone which would not stand the atmospheric changes and could not be easily guarded *in situ*, it was decided to transfer to the Cairo Museum the decorated blocks which were worth exhibition. The remaining portions of both limestone and mud-bricks are here described in detail since they may be damaged or removed in the future.

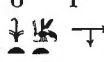
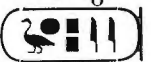

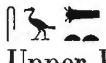
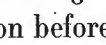
THE TEMENOS WALL AND ITS GATEWAY

Apart from the east side which was in a very ruinous state, this wall was found almost intact. It proved to be thick, high and long although not as huge as those of later periods. It was four and a half metres in thickness, but its height could not be estimated with certainty since the upper part had long since been removed, most probably for *sebakh*. Nevertheless it could not have been less than three metres high, since some sections of it and the original limestone entrance still retain that height. The wall is 87.50 ms. long from north to south and 64 ms. from east to west. It was made of sun-dried bricks with the dimensions of $9 \times 18 \times 36$ cm. in alternate courses of headers and stretchers. There was a coating of mud about 10 cm. thick on both faces.

The wall was complete except on the east side where large parts of it were damaged or had been removed, although its existence even there was proved by the survival of small portions. The east wall had apparently been destroyed by the erection of a late building above it. When we began clearing around it we found that above the north end, there was a pavement of baked bricks laid with pebbles and some kind of mortar. This must have been the remainder of a building dating quite possibly to the Roman period. We do not know anything about this building, but it may be the one referred to by Edgar in his publication of the two hoards found in 1906 (see above p. 7). In speaking of the place of the discovery he says that it lies « 160 metres from the west corner of the ruins and 100 metres from the more north-westerly of the two circular chambers in the Roman building »⁽¹⁾. Since the pavement found above the wall is also about 160 metres from the west corner of the ruins of the Big Temple, it is quite probable that it belongs to the building referred to by Edgar. It is not improbable that such a building was used as a bath since its pavement is so strongly built and this may explain why the wall was so badly damaged. In the part of the wall opposite the sanctuary we found some limestone blocks which might be the remains of a gateway, but since the wall is much damaged and the blocks are quite fragmentary we cannot determine this with certainty.

⁽¹⁾ In G. MASPERO, *Le Musée Egyptien*, II, p. 96.

The only certain opening in the temenos wall is that in the middle of the south side where there was a gateway in limestone. The blocks which were first found formed the roof of the gateway. The one with the representation of Pepi I with the divinities, referred to above, formed the lintel of the outer or southern façade with two blocks on each side forming a jamb. The inner or north façade was formed of another huge lintel block and two jambs, each formed of two blocks, partially decorated. The two lintels and the decorated portions of the jambs were transferred in 1939 to the Cairo Museum for safekeeping. In addition to the two lintels the roof of the gateway was formed of three more blocks. These vary in size, but are not as large as the lintels. The walls are composed of big blocks arranged in two courses of seven blocks. The pavement consists of eight big blocks in the middle, but on each side there are five small fragments. At each extremity of the gateway is a threshold slightly raised above the level of the pavement. The gateway was narrow and low, for on the inside it was 2.04 ms. high and 85 cm. wide (see Plan of Gateway annexed to this book). The walls and the roof are all beautifully polished on the inside and on the façades, but on the top and the outside the blocks were left rough; a fact which indicates that the gate was built into the temenos wall.

The outer or south face is formed of one lintel block and the jambs, each composed of two blocks. On the jambs, there are a few uncertain signs, but the lintel bears a beautiful relief (see pl. II and fig. 2). This lintel (J. E. 72133) is 74 cm. high, 207 cm. long and 85 cm. thick. It shows in the middle king Pepi I wearing the *Atef*-crown and apron. Above him is the inscription →  →  →  *King of Upper and Lower Egypt* 'Son of Re Pepi', the good god, given life, and in front of him stands the goddess  *Bastet* clad in a long, tight garment and wearing as usual the crown of Upper Egypt. She is represented with the head of a cat, the sacred animal of the goddess. She holds in her left hand the *w3d*-sceptre, and with the other extends the sign of life to the nose of the king. This act is explained in the inscription before the goddess which reads:  *Giving all life* ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The late Dr. Harold H. Nelson, who gathered the formulæ accompanying similar scenes on the Theban temples, assured me that he had not met with such a formula as this one. *R* in *rdyt* is omitted in the fac-simile.

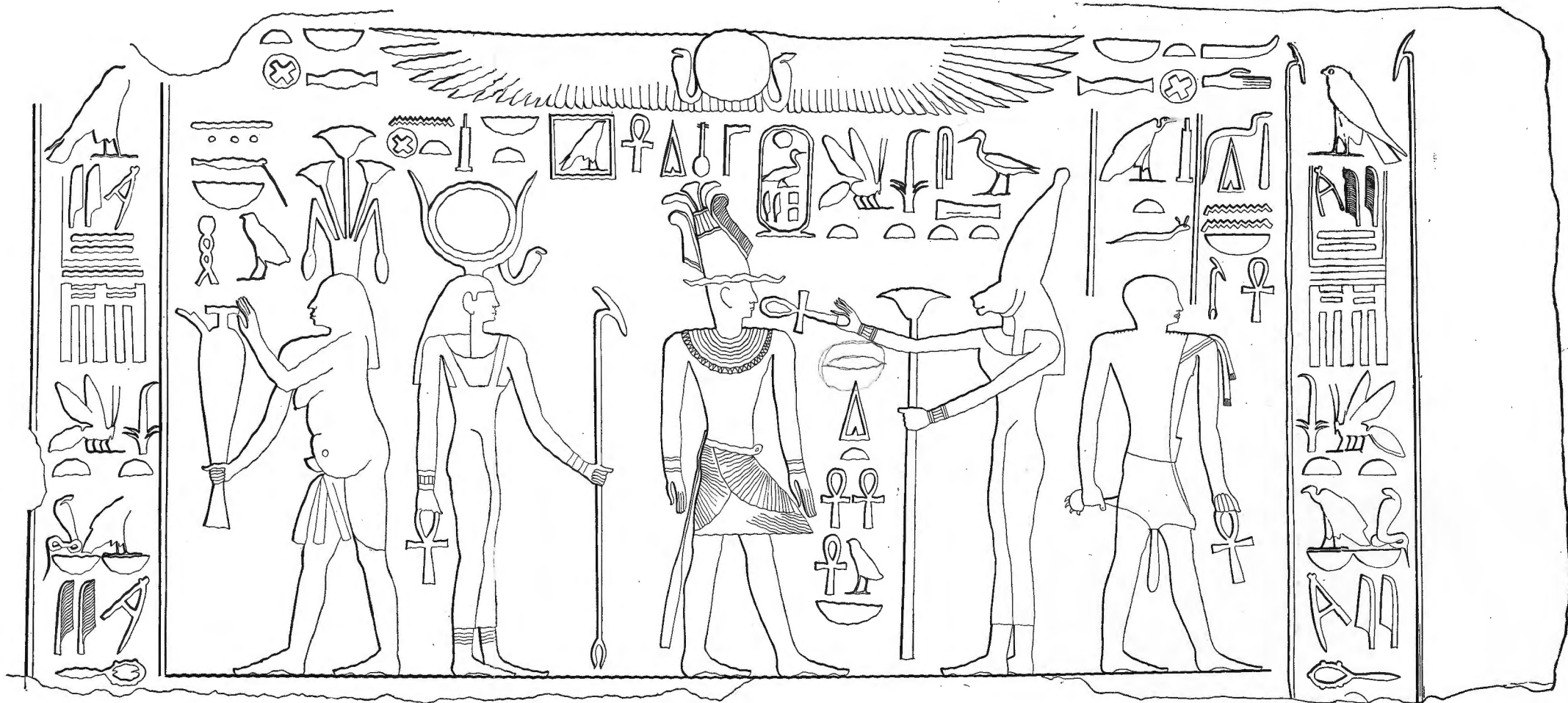

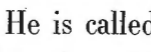
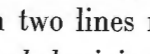

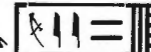
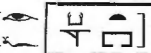



Fig. 2.


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voir pl. II


Behind the king is another goddess also wearing a long, tight garment and carrying the 'onh-sign in one hand and the w;s-sceptre in the other. She wears on her head a crown formed of the sun-disk between two horns with the uræus in front. Above the head is an inscription giving her name : → , *Hathor, mistress of Denderah*. Behind the two goddesses are two figures facing in opposite directions. Before each is a vertical column of hieroglyphs. The figure to the (spectator's) left represents a god having on his head a clump of papyrus formed of three flowers and two bent buds. The god offers a tall *lbbh*-vase which he grasps in one hand and supports with the other. He is called , *The One of Lower Egypt, master of provisions*. On the other side is Iunmutef clad in a leopard skin, the tail of which he holds with one hand while he grasps the sign of life with the other. Above him is an inscription in two lines reading : , *Utterance : I give to thee life and dominion, (namely I) Iwnmutef*.

Above the scene is a winged disk flanked with two uræi and on each side are the words : , *The Behdetite, lord of Mesen*. Before the gods representing Lower Egypt and Iunmutef, the two identical vertical lines of inscription, each between w;s-sceptres, read : , *Horus 'Mry-t;wy', king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Mistresses, Mry-ht...*

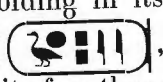
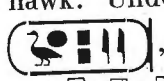
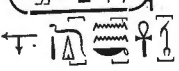
These two inscriptions are continued on the door-jambs, possibly enumerating the other names of the king, but the continuations have been lost. Very faint signs at the end can just be made out as follows : ... , *(he erected a ka)-chapel of Pepi, may he make ('given life')*. The jambs are much damaged because the subsoil water covers them during a great part of the year.

The inner or *Qgrth* face of the gateway is also formed of a lintel block and jambs, composed of two blocks each. The lintel, like the other one, is one big block of limestone (J. E. 72132 A), 75 cm. high, 195 cm. broad and 70 cm. thick. It is not so well preserved as the first and it took us some time to remove it safely to the Museum. It has three lines of inscription in large signs between traces of w;s-sceptres (pl. IIIA and fig. 3). Underneath is the sign of earth while above are slight traces of the sign of heaven. The inscription reads : ← 

 (1) (Long) live the Horus 'Mryt;wy', King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Son of Ré' Pepi', given life. (2) (Long) live the Two Mistresses, 'Mry-ht', The Golden Horus 'Ntrwi', beloved of all the gods. (3) (Long) live the ka-chapel of Pepi in Baset. This inscription is important, for in the third line it gives us the name of the temple.

On each of the jambs of this side there is a figure offering a *khh*-vase. On the west jamb (J. E. 72132 B) it is a female figure facing toward the entrance and having above her head the signs , *The Inundation Season* (Fig. 3 C). On the other jamb (J. E. 72132 C) is a god representing Hapi or *the Inundation*⁽¹⁾, also looking towards the entrance (Fig. 3 B). The remaining portions of the jambs have nothing on them, they were left, therefore, in their place.

THE SANCTUARY

About sixty metres to the north of the gateway lies the chamber with the pillars. This chamber, which was built of sun-dried bricks, had been so severely damaged by subsoil water that only the foundation had survived. The wall is nearly one metre thick, but its height cannot be estimated since the tallest portion preserved was only about 40 cm. high. The entire circuit of the wall was traced except for the western section which had probably been destroyed when the later buildings were erected. The entrance was characterized by recesses into which limestone jambs were set but only the bases of the jambs remained. A block, which most probably formed part of one of the jambs, was found near the gateway (see below, p. 36) reused as the threshold of a door to a house of a late period (pl. IV A). It bore on one face part of a hawk extending its wings and holding in its claws the sign of eternity. Below it has the inscription: , *The good god 'Son of Ré, Pepi'* (pl. IV C and fig. 4). On the opposite face there is part of a wing which may be that of a hawk. Underneath were two columns facing each other; the first reads: , *Son of Ré, Pepi*, while the other, fragmentarily preserved, reads: , *Utterance: I give to thee*

⁽¹⁾ For the meaning of Hapi see DE BUCK, *On the Meaning of the Name H'pj in Orientalia Nederlandica*, pp. 1-22.

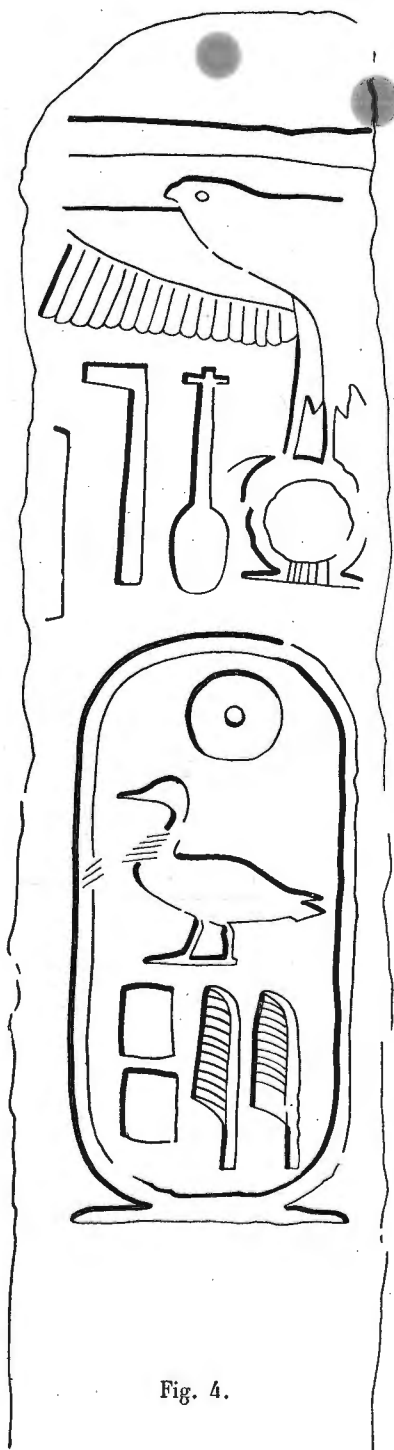


Fig. 4.

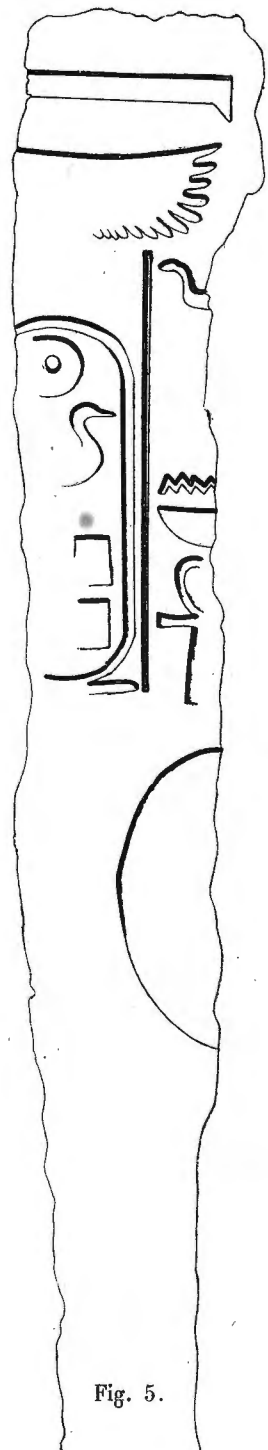


Fig. 5.



Fig. 3 A.

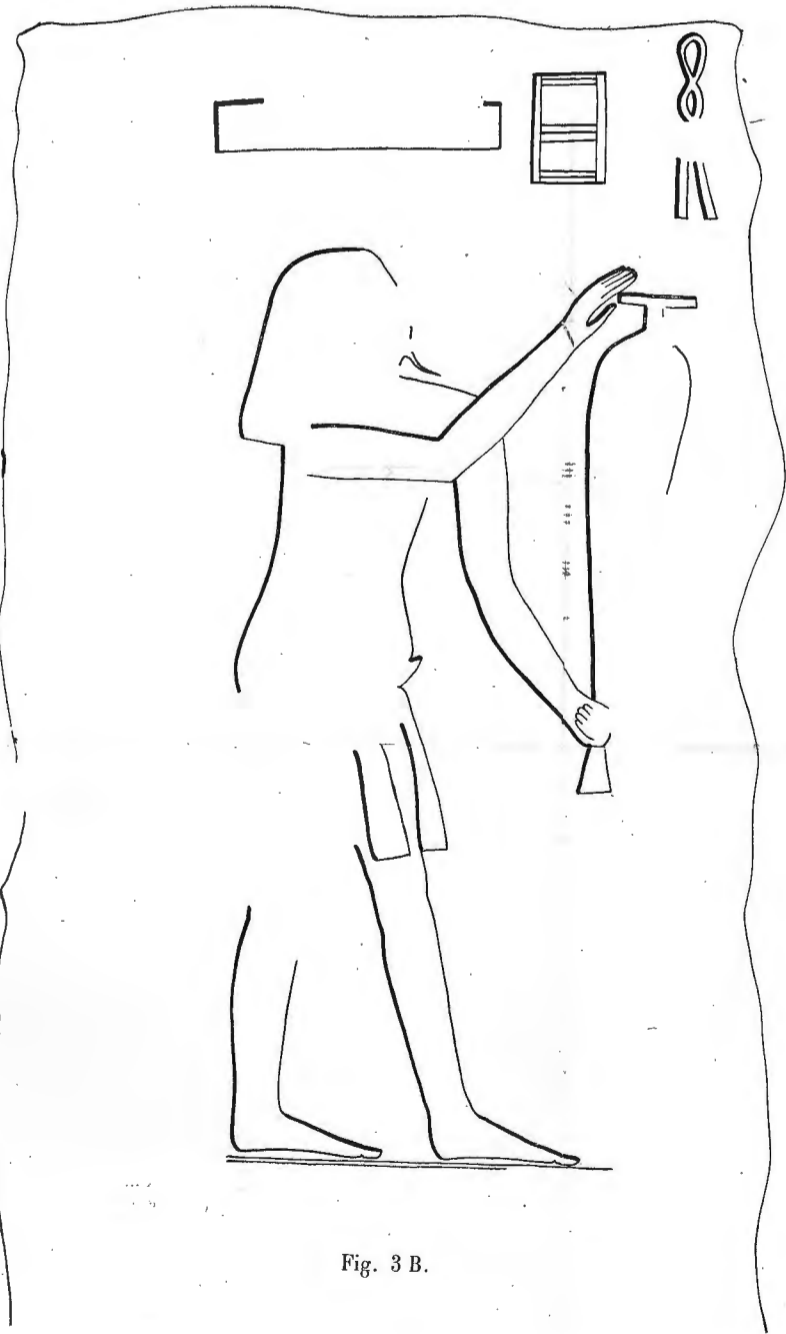


Fig. 3 B.



Fig. 3 C.

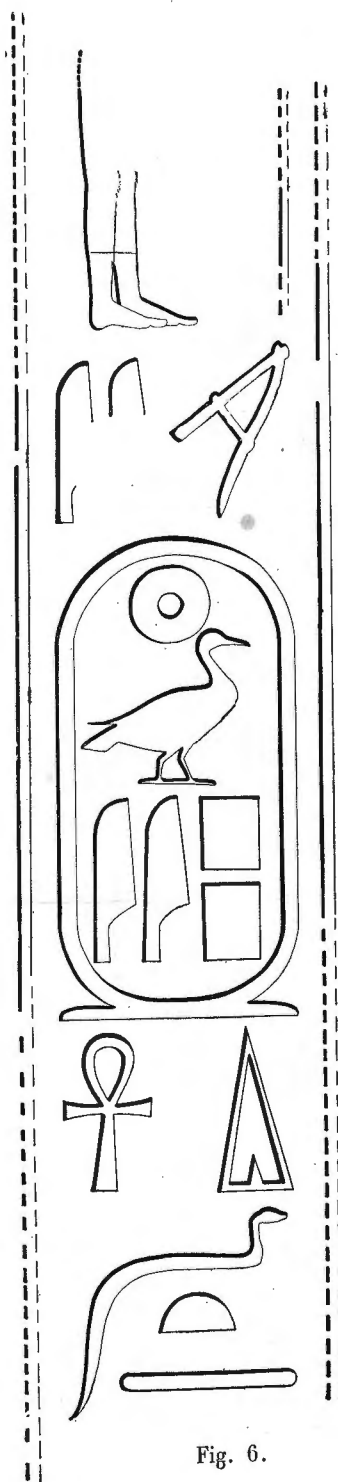



Fig. 6.

life and [dominion], this beginning a speech addressed to the king by one of the divinities (pl. IV B and fig. 5). Although the lower part of this block is entirely defaced, we can guess that on the façade with the speech of the divinity there must have been the figure of the king before a divinity, perhaps the goddess Bastet. On the other side the king may have been represented alone or with another deity. Since the representations on this block differ in nature from those of the remaining parts of the pillars, as we shall see below, it is very probable that it formed part of one of the door jambs of the sanctuary. It may be assumed also that it formed part of the right or northern jamb, for it had on the top the hawk which represented Horus of Lower Egypt. The other jamb perhaps had the vulture sacred to Upper Egypt.

Three metres to the west of the door were the eight pillars in two rows each of which stood on a base 112 cm. square at the bottom, 90 cm. square at the top and 47 cm. high. Each pillar was 377 cm. high and each side was 70 cm. wide at the bottom but gradually tapered towards the top to a width of 55 cm. Courses of limestone blocks served as a foundation to each pillar. The pillars of the western row (nos. 1-4) are still standing, but those of the eastern row (nos. 5-8) are broken or have fallen (pl. V A). Here is a brief description of these pillars :

Pillar no. 1 (the numbering of the pillars is from north to south) is 245 cm. high and bears nothing but the signs  on its west face.

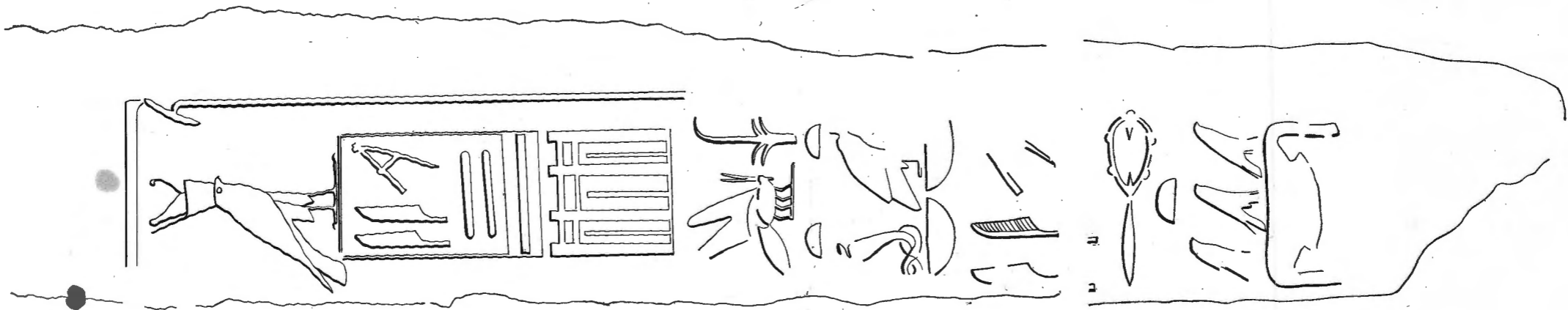



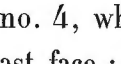

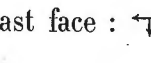
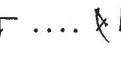




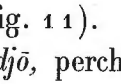
Fig. 7.

Pillar no. 2, is the only which is complete. It is 377 cm. high and has on its west face the end of a column of inscription which reads : []  , « . . . beloved of Bastet, 'Son of Re', Pepi', given life » (pl. VI A and fig. 6).

Pillar no. 3 is only 135 cm. high. No inscription is visible on it, but just beside it was found a fragment of the upper part of a pillar on the face of which the Horus, *Nebti* and the Golden-Horus names of the king are engraved (fig. 7).

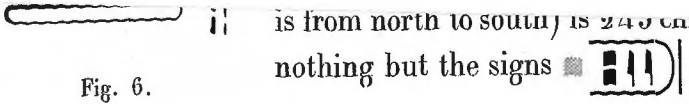

Pillar no. 4, which is 280 cm. high, has on the west face :  , on the east face :   , and on the south face :  .

Pillar no. 5, is about 2 ms. high and has no inscription.

Pillar no. 6, 120 cm. high, has no inscription, but not far from it there were found two fragments which seem to have come from it. On one of these, referred to as 6 A (118 cm. high), is the Horus-name of the king under the sign of heaven and flanked by *w*;*s*-sceptres which frame the whole inscription (fig. 8). There are the nomen and the *Nebti* and Horus names on one of the other two decorated faces (fig. 9) and the nomen preceded by the epithet « *King of Upper and Lower Egypt* », on the second (fig. 10). The other fragment, referred to as 6 B (109 cm. high), has on the one complete face the nomen with the same epithet as before, the *Nebti* and the Horus names (fig. 11). On the other face, which is not complete, there is the uræus , *Edjō*, perching on a basket placed above the papyrus plant. The uræus extends perhaps the sign of dominion to one of the names of the king (fig. 12).

Pillar no. 7, 180 cm. high, has no inscription, but just at its foot a fragment (7 A), about 98 cm. high, was found. This fragment was in a very bad state of preservation, and fell in pieces shortly after it was found. It had on the one face which was complete the name of the king facing his Horus, Golden Horus and *Nebti* names (fig. 13). Of the other faces nothing was left.

Pillar no. 8, which was found lying beside its base, was 295 cm. high. All the representations on it were worn away except for a scene on one face. This depicts the king wearing the *Atef*-crown and an apron and standing opposite a goddess who wears a long, tight garment. Both figures grasp a long implement with one hand (see pl. VI B). This scene represents the

Fig. 6.  is from north to south) is 249 cm. high. It has nothing but the signs  on its west face.

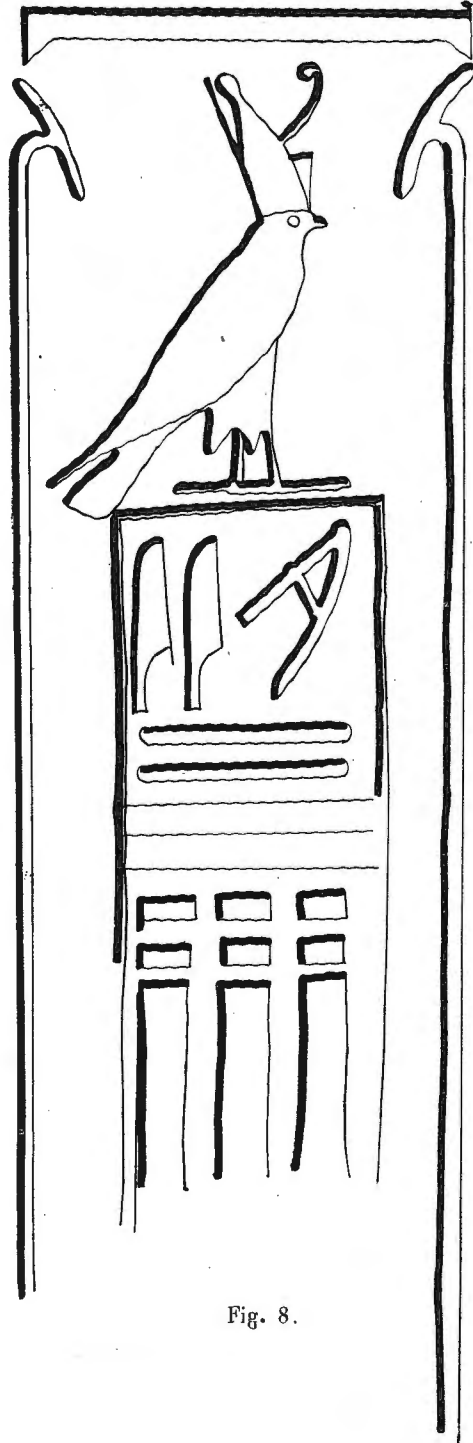


Fig. 8.

pd-šš-ceremony, one of the ceremonies for laying the foundation of a temple⁽¹⁾. The scene is not common in Old Kingdom reliefs, but it resembles one which represents Khasekhemwi in a rather vague scene of the same nature on a block in red granite in the Cairo Museum (J.E. 33896). There the king is seen in one register with a goddess, both holding an implement of which the shape is not clear⁽²⁾. This implement may have had the same form as that seen between Pepi I and the goddess facing him. The goddess aiding the king in performing similar ceremonies is usually Seshat. Despite the mutilation of the stone, it is clear that the goddess on the Tell Basta block was cat or lioness-headed and that it is Bastet and not Seshat who is represented performing the ceremony with the king.

Considering the representations on the pillars as a whole, we may conclude that most of the pillars were decorated

⁽¹⁾ For these scenes, see ROCHEMONTEIX-CHASSINAT, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, Pls. 40 b, c. Dr. Hughes has attracted my attention to the work of Von Bissing and KEES, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures* (Abh. d. Bayerische der Wissensch. Phil.-hist. Kl., XXII, Abh. 1), pp. 3 ff.

⁽²⁾ R. ENGELBACH, *A Foundation Scene of the Second Dynasty*, in *J. E. A.*, XX, 183 f and pl. XXIV.



Fig. 9.

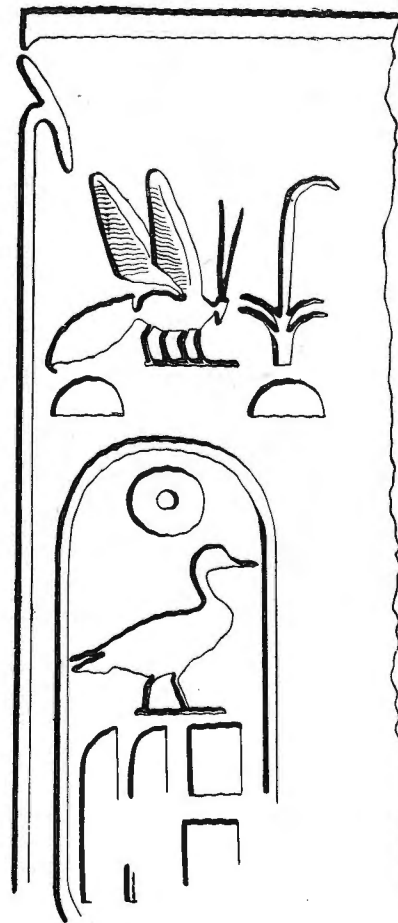



Fig. 10.

on one or more of their faces with one vertical column of inscription. This line began a few centimetres from the top and ended 85 cm. above the bottom. It had the heaven-sign above, *w*3s-sceptre on each side and the earth-sign below. The probable reconstruction of the line is:  *Horus 'Mry-t3wy', King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Mistresses 'Mry-hi', The Golden Horus 'Ntrwi', beloved of Bastet, Son of Re' 'Pepi', given life forever.*

This line possibly decorated the outer faces of Pillars nos. 1-4, *i. e.* the east and west faces and in addition the north face of Pillar no. 1 and the southern face of Pillar no. 4. It decorated one of the faces of Pillars nos. 5-8, possibly the western face. On the other faces, there were the names of the king arranged in different manners, in most cases the nomen facing two vertical columns of inscriptions, one with the Horus name, and the other with the *Nebti* and the Golden Horus names.

Such may have been the representation on most of the remaining faces of all the pillars. On one of



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

the faces of Pillar no. 6, the goddess Edjō gives the sign of dominion to the name of the king. It is very tempting to believe that on the corresponding face of Pillar no. 7, the name of the king was given blessing by the goddess Nekhabit symbolised by the vulture standing on a basket above a clump of lotus. Underneath these scenes, the king must have been represented with a deity mostly Bastet, as we have in the foundation scene on Pillar no. 8.

CHAPTER III

THE TEMPLE OF PEPI I [II]:

FINDS AND IMPORTANCE

We have already noted that it was possible to dig only a small area within the temenos wall. The total area was vast and its excavation would require a long time and a large amount of money. Although such an important temple should have been completely cleared, we contented ourselves for lack of time and funds with making two cross trenches passing near the sanctuary. During this work, there were discovered some bones of animals, human burials and various objects of which we shall give here a brief description.

BURIALS AND BONES OF ANIMALS

Immediately to the west of the western row of pillars and almost on the same level as the pavement on which the pillars stood, the foundation of a building in sun-dried bricks was unearthed. This building consisted of eight small compartments of varying shapes, the biggest being about 260 cm. long and 120 cm. wide (pl. V B). In some of the compartments were found bones of animals and some vases which can be attributed to the Old Kingdom. This shows that the compartments were contemporary with the temple or a little later than it. Although we do not know the exact extent of the sanctuary, it is not improbable that these compartments formed a part of it. The subsoil water which had covered them for a long period of the year had drastically affected the bones, hence it was decided to carry out a careful preliminary treatment before removal. We wrote, therefore, to the Agricultural Museum of Cairo to delegate one of its scientists for the treatment and

identification of these bones and those of other animals found afterwards during the work. Abd el-Raouf Tantawi, then chief of the Ancient Egypt Section of this Museum, came twice to Tell Basta and was kind enough to send his report on all the bones discovered. According to him, the bones beside the sanctuary proved to be :

- A, B) Fragments of two frontal carapaces of Nile-turtle, « *Trionyx nilotica* ».
- C, D) Fragments of hind part of Nile-turtle carapace, « *Trionyx nilotica* ».
- E) Fragments of fish bones not identified (pl. VII A).

The Nile-turtle seems to have been known in Egypt from a very early period. It was represented on some predynastic palettes⁽¹⁾ and the animal itself was found in a tomb of the IInd Dynasty⁽²⁾. It is not known whether it was sacred to any divinity⁽³⁾, but its presence in such compartments in or beside the sanctuary of the temple may perhaps indicate that it was.

In two places there were found bovine bones lying on potsherds. Just one metre to the north of the gateway were found two fragments of a plate containing : A) Bovine digital bones for right leg (calf); B) Metacarpus of the same leg (see pl. VII B). Inside the sanctuary, not far from the southern wall was found a potsherd with bovine left mandible, lower jaw (adult) (see pl. VIII A). These seem to be parts of animals sacrificed by the devotees to the goddess.

When clearing inside the gateway we came upon many bones. As the earth was saturated with the infiltration water, it was not possible to determine the exact position of these bones, although most of them were not far above the pavement. They proved to be : A) Left humerus of a cat possibly « *Felis domestica* »; B) Left femur of a cat possibly « *Felis domestica* »; C) Right tibia of a cat, « *Felis domestica* » or « *Felis Libya* »; D) Left femur of a cat, possibly « *Felis Libya* » (pl. VIII B).

We cannot say when these cats were buried, but since the place in which their bones were found could not have been originally intended for such a purpose, it may be assumed that they were deposited when the building was no longer used as a temple, although it may still have been considered a sacred place.

⁽¹⁾ CAPART, *Le début de l'art*, 78, 107. ⁽²⁾ ZAKY Y. SAAD, *Ann. du Serv.* XL, 690 and fig. 75.

⁽³⁾ See, however, B. van de WALLE, *La tortue dans la religion et la magie égyptiennes*, *La nouvelle Clio*, 1953, n^{os} 1-4, pp. 173-189.

At about 7 metres to the north of the gateway and about one and a half metre above the level of the pavement were found some rooms containing vases or potsherds covering animal bones. These bones were reported to be : A) Part of mandible (lower jaw bone) of wild boar or pig; B) Teeth of adult boar or pig; C) Left lower tusk of boar or pig (pl. VIII C). We have no evidence that the wild boar existed in or near Egypt, but the pig is known to have existed in Egypt from very early periods⁽¹⁾. Therefore we must conclude that these bones are those of pigs and not of wild boars.

During the work some human burials were found at about three metres above the pavement of the temple. The following is a description of these burials and their contents :

1) Burial at 5 metres to the N.-E. of the gateway : Female, 155 cm. long, body on back, hands on sides, head north, face east. Traces of wooden coffin, mirror under the head of the body.

2) Burial at about one metre to the east of the gateway. A small chamber had been dug for the body in the temenos wall where traces of a thick layer of a plaster were uncovered. Male, 160 cm. long, extended on the back, hands on sides, head north, face east, 4 small knives at elbow of left arm, had two pots a metre north of the head.

3) Burial found about one metre north of the sanctuary. Bones in a very bad state of preservation and nothing can be said about the position of the body. Two pots (pl. IX A [B]), and a bronze statue, 32 cm. high (pl. X A [A]) were found beside the bones. This statue, as well as the two others described below, has a projection under the feet, possibly for fixing it to a pedestal or the like.

4) Burial found three metres to the north of the previous one. Bones also in a bad state of preservation and nothing could be deduced from their condition. Two pots (one in pl. IX A [C]) and a bronze statue 15 cm. high (pl. X B [A]) were discovered beside the bones.

⁽¹⁾ Bones of pigs were found at Merimde, see HUZAYYIN, *The Place of Egypt in Prehistory*, pp. 300 and 306.

5) Burial discovered about 15 metres to the north of the gateway. Male, body extended on back, 160 cm. long, head north, face east and hands on sides. A bronze statue, 30 cm. high (pl. X B [B]), was placed near the head and a necklace with two ending parts and seven rows of long cylindrical beads (pl. IX B) was found around the neck.

6) Burial at about 5 metres north-west of the gateway, Child, body on back, hands on sides, head north, face east. A small pot (pl. IX A [A]) and a small bronze adze (pl. X A [C]) were found near the hands.

According to the forms and materials of the objects, these burials must be dated to the Saitic period. The statues which undoubtedly represented the dead person resemble very much the statues of Old Kingdom in the modelling of the chest and the muscles, but this may be due to the well-known tendency towards archaism in the Saitic period. Statues of this period were previously found in the Great Temple⁽¹⁾ and in 1944 we found a beautiful statue of a prince who lived during the reign of Psammetikhos I (below, p. 94). A large number of stelae inscribed with the names of the successors of Psammetikhos I have come from Tell Basta⁽²⁾ and indicate the importance of the town in that period.

In the space between the gateway and the sanctuary the foundations of some rooms in sun-dried bricks could be traced. These, like the burials of the Saitic period, were about three metres above the level of the Old Kingdom temple. As we have seen above (p. 18), part of a jamb of the sanctuary door was found here used as the threshold to one of the chambers. These chambers may have been used as dwellings after the temple was deserted. Only some flints (pl. IX B), some vases resembling those found in the burials and some bronze pieces (pl. X A [B, D, E, F,]) were discovered. These vases and bronzes may also be dated to the Saitic period when the place was used first as a dwelling and then for burials.

⁽¹⁾ NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, 55 f, pl. XLIII, A, C and D.

⁽²⁾ Such as the stela of Nekao, MORET, *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, LI (1906), p. 47 and *Cat. de la galerie égypt. du Musée Guimet*, pp. 99-102 and pl. XLIII; Stela of Psammetikhos II in *Ann. du serv.*, XI, 192; Stela of Apries, *Rec. trav.*, XXV, 58; Stela of Amasis, *Ä. Z.*, XXIII, 11, and another one of the same king, REVILLIOUT, *Notice*, p. 367 and *Revue égypt.* II, 42-4, now in Berlin Mus. (n° 8439). See also PORTER-MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 33.

TEMPLES OF THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS

Until recently no Old or Middle Kingdom temple was known to us except the funerary temples usually attached to kings' burials. Of the early temples dedicated to various deities we have only parts of a very few and in many cases only scattered blocks reused under or inside later temples. Evidence of a very primitive archaic temple was found under the late temple of Medamud, but a very small part remained of which almost nothing survives at present⁽¹⁾. The small temple of Kasr el-Sagha, which was first dated to the Middle Kingdom and then attributed to the Old Kingdom and more specifically to the IIIrd Dynasty⁽²⁾, has only a court and seven sanctuaries. This must have been a small temple left unfinished. The temple of Amenemhēt III and Amenemhēt IV at Medinet Mâdi is the only complete temple of the Middle Kingdom⁽³⁾. Apart from these we have only blocks reused in late temples as can be seen in so many places in Egypt. Sometimes under the temples of the Empire or later, the foundations of an earlier temple can be traced⁽⁴⁾, but in such cases, which are rather rare, it is not easy to reconstruct exactly the form of the earlier buildings.

It is pertinent to ask why the early temples were destroyed. Were they already ruined by the time of the Empire or did the kings of this period destroy them intentionally to use the blocks in erecting their own temples? Before the rise of the Middle Kingdom Egypt was in a very disturbed state for about two centuries. During that period no attention was paid to the temples and very probably some of them were destroyed in hostilities between

⁽¹⁾ For the description of the temple, see ROBICHON and VARILLE, *Description sommaire du temple primitif de Médamoud*, pp. 1-2; for its date, see *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁽²⁾ See GILBERT, «La date du temple de Kasr el-Sagha», in *Chronique de l'Égypte*, 37 (1940), 34.

⁽³⁾ VOGLIANO, *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella Zona di Medinet Mâdi*, for the inscriptions, see DONADONI, pp. 17-36 and for the form of the temple, see VON RUDOLPH NAWMANN in *Mitteilungen des D. Inst. für Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Band 8, p. 185.

⁽⁴⁾ For example, the reconstruction of the Middle Kingdom temple at Ehnasiya, see PETRIE, *Ehnasiya*, pp. 5-7 and pl. V.


the governors of the various nomes. Thus the temples of the Old Kingdom were probably in a more or less ruined condition at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. A reflection of this state may be found in the pessimistic literature of the Middle Kingdom, where we find many references to destruction of temples⁽¹⁾. Thus the kings of the Middle Kingdom began in many cases to build new temples but these underwent the same fate as those of the Old Kingdom. In the Second Intermediate Period which lasted for about one century and a half Egypt was in even a worse state than it had been in the First Intermediate Period and almost all its temples fell into ruins.

When the kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties began to erect their majestic temples they were in need of great quantities of stone and often took blocks from earlier ruined temples to be used in their own. It was easier to use these blocks than to quarry new ones particularly in Lower Egypt which was far from quarries. Since blocks from earlier temples were, at the same time, considered to be sacred, they were also placed in the newly built temples to add to their sanctity. It has been suggested in recent years that some of the early temples were turn down for some religious reason and the blocks reused intentionally in specific places in late temples with the purpose of embodying some religious concept. Such a revolutionary theory needs much study and more proofs before it can be accepted.

To come back to our subject about the temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, we must point out that rarely did any of these not fall into ruin but in most cases their blocks were used in later temples. There is undoubtedly more than one reason for the survival of some of these temples. Such reasons are not always easy to find but we can guess that the Temple of Kasr el-Sagha survived because it was built of a hard stone and was far from any town. As for the Temple of Medînet Mâdi which is built on the edge of the desert, it may have been covered with sand shortly after it was erected. Remains from the reign of Merenptah and from the late period were discovered there, but the early temple may have been cleared at those times to be covered up again.

As for the Temple of Pepi I at Tell Basta, we cannot tell exactly why it

⁽¹⁾ GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, pp. 17 f.

was not ruined. We have seen above that some buildings were erected in the space between the gateway and the sanctuary and that objects of the Saitic period were unearthed there⁽¹⁾. In the Great Temple of Bastet many blocks of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were found reused in later buildings. Only one of these blocks can be said with certainty to have been originally in Bubastis. This is a door-jamb with the inscription:  Horus 'Whm-msut', the Two Mistresses 'Whm-msut', the king of Upper and Lower Egypt '[Shtp-ib-]R'...⁽²⁾ He made as his monument for his mother Bastet, making a door in....⁽²⁾ (pl. XI A). This block shows that Amenemhēt I erected some building in Bubastis, which may have been a temple or just a doorway added to an earlier building. As no other block inscribed with his name was found anywhere in the ruins, it is more probable that he just added a doorway than that he built a whole temple. Such a doorway would most probably have been added to the temple of Pepi I since it is not likely that any other king built a temple there before the reign of Amenemhēt I; Pepi II and kings of the XIth dynasty were not liable to build in Bubastis. This would lead us to believe that the Pepi I temple was not deserted before the Middle Kingdom. In the second Intermediate Period it would seem that it was neglected and thereafter was gradually buried under debris. In the Saitic period it was completely covered up since we find burials of that period almost at level with the top of the temenos wall and the burials would probably have been made at a certain distance below the ground level of that time. Owing to these circumstances the temple was preserved without much damage and has thus survived in a relatively good condition.

This temple was called *Hwt-k;-Ppy-m-B;st*, or *The-Soul-Temple-of-Pepi-in-Bubastis*. Soul-temples of kings and deified individuals were built in various periods but none hitherto known were built as early as the reign of Pepi I. A temple also called *Hwt-k;-Ppy* stood somewhere near Zâwyet el-Amwât (Province of El-Minia), since tombs of some officials attached to the temple were found at that site. This temple seems rather to have been

⁽¹⁾ Above, p. 36. ⁽²⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 8, pl. XXXIII-A.

erected for Pepi II than for Pepi I, as may be inferred from the inscriptions in the tombs⁽¹⁾. The best example of such temples is that of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, discovered a few years ago near Medinet Habu at Thebes by Robichon and Varille. The two French scholars, after collecting the texts in which the name of this sort of temple occurs, give the following account : « Sous l'Ancien Empire le mot *ht-k* désigne le plus souvent un ensemble d'habitations, de greniers, d'étables et de terrains de culture dont les revenus assurent l'alimentation des morts. Ces domaines sont fréquemment symbolisés dans les représentations des tombeaux par des femmes chargées d'offrandes qui apportent aux défunts le repas funéraire... Par extension, le lieu du culte où sont apportées les offrandes peut aussi faire partie du *ht-k*. On désignera ainsi la chapelle funéraire d'un tombeau, le temple funéraire indépendant, où même la chapelle funéraire construite près du temple d'une divinité locale, à condition que ces monuments soient accompagnés des domaines inaliénables qui leur servent des revenus »⁽²⁾.

Examining the Soul-Temple of Pepi I at Tell Basta to find out whether it resembles one or another of the different kinds of buildings described by these archeologists, we find that it has nothing to do with buildings or lands intended to afford revenues for the dead. Nor can it be a funerary temple either attached to the tomb or independent of it. Could it be then a funerary chapel built beside a temple dedicated to the local divinity? A block with the name of Cheops and another with that of Khephren were found reused in the Great Temple, but this does not necessarily indicate that either king built at Bubastis. The Soul-Temple of Pepi was rather a huge one and it is improbable that it was attached to any other temple of its date or earlier. Considering, on the other hand, the relief on the south face of the gateway, we find that Pepi I is represented in the middle with a deity on each side of him. He is not offering to Bastet but receiving from her the sign of life. A chapel, also called a *Hwt-k*, was built by king Nebhepetrē Mentuhotep in Denderah. In no scene he is shown as offering to the local deities, but gene-

⁽¹⁾ For a list of these, see PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography* IV, p. 134 ff. Gauthier believes that this temple stood in the XVth nome of Upper Egypt, *Dict. géog.*, IV, pp. 69, 137 and belonged to Pepi I.

⁽²⁾ *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*, I (*Fouilles I. F. A. O.*, XI), p. 7.

rally is seen receiving their blessing⁽¹⁾. Examining the scene on the surviving blocks of temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms we find that the majority point in the same direction⁽²⁾. We believe, therefore, that the temple erected by Pepi I at Bubastis was an independent one and not annexed to another temple. The hugeness of the temple also seems to assure this point of view. If this is granted, we can find in this temple the plan on which temples of the Old Kingdom were probably designed⁽³⁾. A thick and high temenos wall enclosing a large area containing the sanctuary was perhaps the usual plan for these temples. It is strange that the sanctuary was not built in the middle of the area surrounded by the girdle wall but roughly in one of the corners, perhaps on the pattern of the sign \square , *Hwt*, a temple or a palace.

DEITIES AND PLACE-NAMES OF BUBASTIS IN THE VIth DYNASTY

The goddess Bastet was undoubtedly the chief deity of Bubastis during the VIth Dynasty and even earlier. She is represented on the south face of the gateway standing before Pepi I giving him the sign of life. On some pillars the king is described as beloved of Bastet and on one of them he is shown performing the foundation ceremony of the stretching of the cord with her. In the Great Temple the first occurrence of her name is on the door erected by Amenemhēt I alluded to in this chapter. No representation of her earlier than the XXIInd Dynasty was found on the numerous blocks in the ruins of this temple. In the temple of Pepi I, however, she is represented twice and her name occurs a number of times, showing that she was the chief deity of the town even in that remote age.

The goddess Hathor also seems to have had an important position at that time, for she is shown behind the king on the façade of the temple. Pepi I,

⁽¹⁾ DARESSY, « Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Denderah », in *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, pp. 226-236.

⁽²⁾ VARILLE et ROBICHON, *op. cit.*, p. 7, give references to temples which bore this name. To these we may add a temple of Sankhkare Mentuhotep in Abydos, see PETRIE, *Abydos* II, pl. XXIII (5).

⁽³⁾ Petrie says that temples of the Middle Kingdom were formed of a sanctuary surrounded by store-rooms with a court in front, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.

seems to have been a fervent worshipper of the goddess, for in Wadi Maghara where the goddess was the main divinity he is shown before her in one of the scenes⁽¹⁾. On two blocks from Tell Basta inscribed with the name of the same king, he is called the son of Hathor, mistress of Dendereh⁽²⁾. The same title is found on many objects such as a door-jamb from Tanis⁽³⁾ and the lid of a vase from Qeneh now in the British Museum⁽⁴⁾. This king erected statues and built a chapel in honour of the goddess in Dendereh. In one of the crypts behind the main sanctuary there is an inscription which reads: «*The great foundation of Dendereh was found on decayed rolls of skins of kids of the time of the Followers of Horus. It was found in a brick wall on the south side in the reign of the king beloved of the Sun, son of the Sun, lord of diadems, Pepi, living, established and well, like the Sun forever*»⁽⁵⁾. It is interesting to note that among the numerous names of Dendereh⁽⁶⁾ is $\square \uparrow \textcircled{\text{B}}$, *Bubastis of the South*, in contrast to $\square \uparrow \textcircled{\text{B}} \textcircled{\text{N}}$, *Bubastis of the North*, which designated Bubastis itself. This shows the close relationship between the two towns which was undoubtedly due to the relation between the two deities.

On the south face of the gateway are also seen Inmutef and Hapi, as if officiating before the names of the king. The latter god is also represented on the left jamb of the north face of the gateway while a woman symbolising $\textcircled{\text{III}}$, «*Inundation Season*», is found on the other jamb. It must be remembered that in processions representing nomes, we usually have women and Hapi-figures shown alternately as offering-bearers with the symbols of the nomes on their heads.

The name of $\textcircled{\text{B}}$ is seen on the north face of the gateway which shows that the town had even then the name by which it was known in later periods. Naville did not find this name on anything earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty. He pointed out that even at that time it was probably used to designate

⁽¹⁾ GARDINER-PEET-ČERNÝ, *The inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. VIII (14).

⁽²⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 6, pl. XXXII-C and D.

⁽³⁾ PETRIE, *Tanis I*, p. 6, pl. I, no. 2. Another block was noticed by Burton; for these, see GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, I, p. 159.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 154. Another vase seems also to have come from Qeneh or Dendereh, see *ibid.*, p. 155.

⁽⁵⁾ NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁽⁶⁾ GAUTHIER, *Dic. géog.*, II, p. 75.

the sanctuary dedicated to the goddess (below p. 109), but it is clear from the name of the Temple of Pepi I that the name also applied to the whole town in his reign if not earlier.

A further point is worth mentioning before we conclude this chapter. The prenomen of the king does not figure on any of the surviving parts of the Temple of Pepi I. It is true that large portions of the pillars are missing and that the remaining parts of the inscriptions are rather fragmentary, but on those portions which have survived we have all his names with the exception of the prenomen. Moreover, the complete inscription on the inner or north face of the gateway presents the full titulary of the king except for the prenomen. In this inscription, as well as in those on the pillars, the epithet $\textcircled{\text{K}}$ which usually precedes the throne name of a king appears before his birth-name. How can we explain this feature? It is known that very few kings before Pepi I had a prenomen. We know, on the other hand, that Pepi I had at the beginning of his reign the prenomen *Nfr-s;-Hr* which he changed afterwards to *Mry-R*⁽¹⁾. It may be assumed that the king at the time of the erection of the temple at Bubastis had either not yet adopted a prenomen or the change from the first to the second prenomen was not finally decided. Whether the first hypothesis or the second is true, it seems quite probable that the temple was erected towards the beginning of the reign.

⁽¹⁾ DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Egypte*³, p. 232.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL NOTES ON THE GREAT TEMPLE [I] :

MIHOS TEMPLE AND ENTRANCE HALL

STUDY OF THE GREAT TEMPLE

For a long time, perhaps since the discovery of the Great Temple, it has been felt that something should be done to save some of its decorated blocks from the damage wrought by the subsoil water which covers them for some months every year. This water usually leaves a layer of salt which through the changes of temperature severely affects the granite of which most of the blocks consist. Even in the short interval which has elapsed since the discovery of the Great temple by Naville, some blocks which were left *in situ* have been somewhat damaged. It was important then to examine the zone around the temple to find places where there were no ancient buildings. To these places important blocks usually covered by subsoil water could be removed, until such time as some of the important parts of the temple might be rebuilt. In Lower Egypt no temple whatever can be seen standing at present, although in some places large parts of the remains of temples are still in their places awaiting the architect who can reconstruct them. The remains of the temple of Isis at Behbeit el-Hagar for example may be more complete than those of Bubastis, but since the latter is earlier and has more important reliefs, it would be interesting to try to rebuild some sections of it. The Festival Hall of Osorkon II, in particular if rebuilt would prove to be of great interest, for it has the representations of ceremonies of the jubilee which can scarcely be found elsewhere.

In July 1943 we started to examine the area around the temple. After a short time it was clear that this area, on which the debris of the excavations of Naville has been placed, had never been examined. Although only a few

soundings were made, some interesting buildings and objects were unearthed. In order to clear around these objects and buildings, it was necessary to remove large quantities of earth, a task which our modest credit would not permit. We decided, therefore, to postpone speaking of these objects and buildings until it will be possible to make a thorough examination of the whole area. In this way it would be possible to determine a place to which blocks now menaced by the subsoil water might be removed.

Meanwhile we shall give here some notes on the general plan of the Temple and its history. In the present chapter we shall deal with the so-called portico and the Entrance Hall. Chapter V will be devoted to the Festival and Hypostyle Halls and chapter VI to the building of Nektanebos II (Nekht-Har-Hebi). At the time of our work, more than half a century had already passed since Naville finished clearing the Great Temple and during that long interval many a block in the ruins of the temple had been covered again. It was important to clear round these and to study all the blocks of the temple to see if any had been carried away and whether any inscription had escaped the attention of the Swiss Egyptologist. We failed to find only a few of the blocks which he recorded as having been left *in situ* and it seems unlikely that the missing blocks were later removed; but either that they may have been turned over after being copied or may be concealed by others. Nothing that Naville left *in situ* could have been easily removed or was worth removing. Many fragments of stone, on the other hand, had obviously escaped the notice of Naville and some were inaccurately copied. We shall publish these here in connection with our study of the different parts of the temple. Later we shall examine the inscriptions found in the various parts of the temple and their relations to the newly published ones. We shall find that in many cases there is no relation but we shall find, on the other hand, more than one point of resemblance between these fragments and inscriptions on blocks at other sites. In this way it will be possible to trace the true history of Bubastis from beginning to end.

PARTS OF THE MIHOS TEMPLE

About sixty metres to the north of the Great Temple, Naville discovered parts of four columns, two of which had palm-leaf capitals while the other

two were of the papyrus-bud form. These were all that remained of a structure which he thought had been a sort of doorway or portico. Although Naville found on some of the columns the name of Osorkon II described as beloved of Mihos, he considered it impossible to assign even an approximate date to the building⁽¹⁾. We thought it worthwhile to clear again around the fragments of columns which were by that time almost completely reburied (pl. XI B). It was important to know the exact nature of the building which had stood there, the king by whom it was erected and the divinity to whom it was dedicated. This work took about a month. It was begun on July 14th and was finished on August 16th, 1943. Of the columns with the palm-leaf capitals we found four fragments of the stems and three of the capitals and of the papyrus-bud columns five fragments were unearthed. Four columns bases were discovered about 5 metres to the south of these fragments. We proceed now to describe these fragments referring to them by the numbers shown in pl. XII. Their inscriptions appear in figs. 14 A-D.

1) Upper part of a column with palm-leaf capital. It is in red granite, 162 cm. high and has the upper inscription in fig. 14 A.

2) Fragment of a similar column also of red granite, 112 cm. high. It bears the lower inscription of fig. 14 A, which completes that on the previous fragment. The two fragments form a complete column of which nothing is missing except a part of the capital.

3) Part of a column of the same form. It is of red granite, 70 cm. high, and has no inscription.

4) Fragment of a column of the same form. It is of red granite, 75 cm. high and has the inscription in fig. 14 B, which may be the same as that published by Naville⁽²⁾. This and the fragment no. 3 may be parts of the same column.

Near these pieces were discovered three fragments of capitals of the same form. One of these (no. 5) is the only piece which is not of red granite. It is of quartzite but it might have been the capital of one of these columns⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 49.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 49 and pl. XLI-G.

⁽³⁾ Sometimes elements of temples are made of more than one kind of stone.

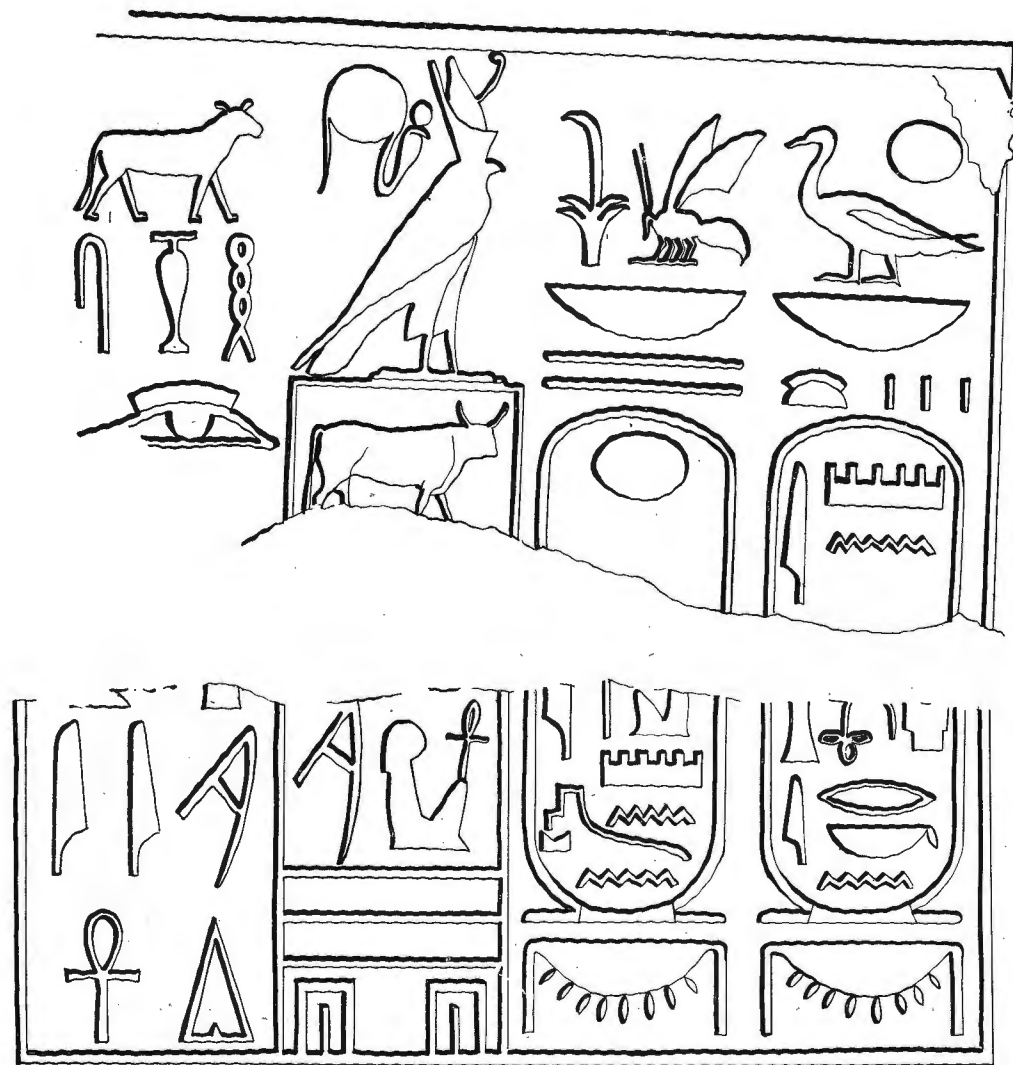


Fig. 14 A.

The two remaining fragments (nos. 6 and 7) are probably from the capitals of the others columns. These columns when complete were about 4.25 ms. in height.

8) Fragment of the middle part of a papyrus-bud column. It is of red granite, 88 cm. high, and bears the inscription in fig. 14 C.

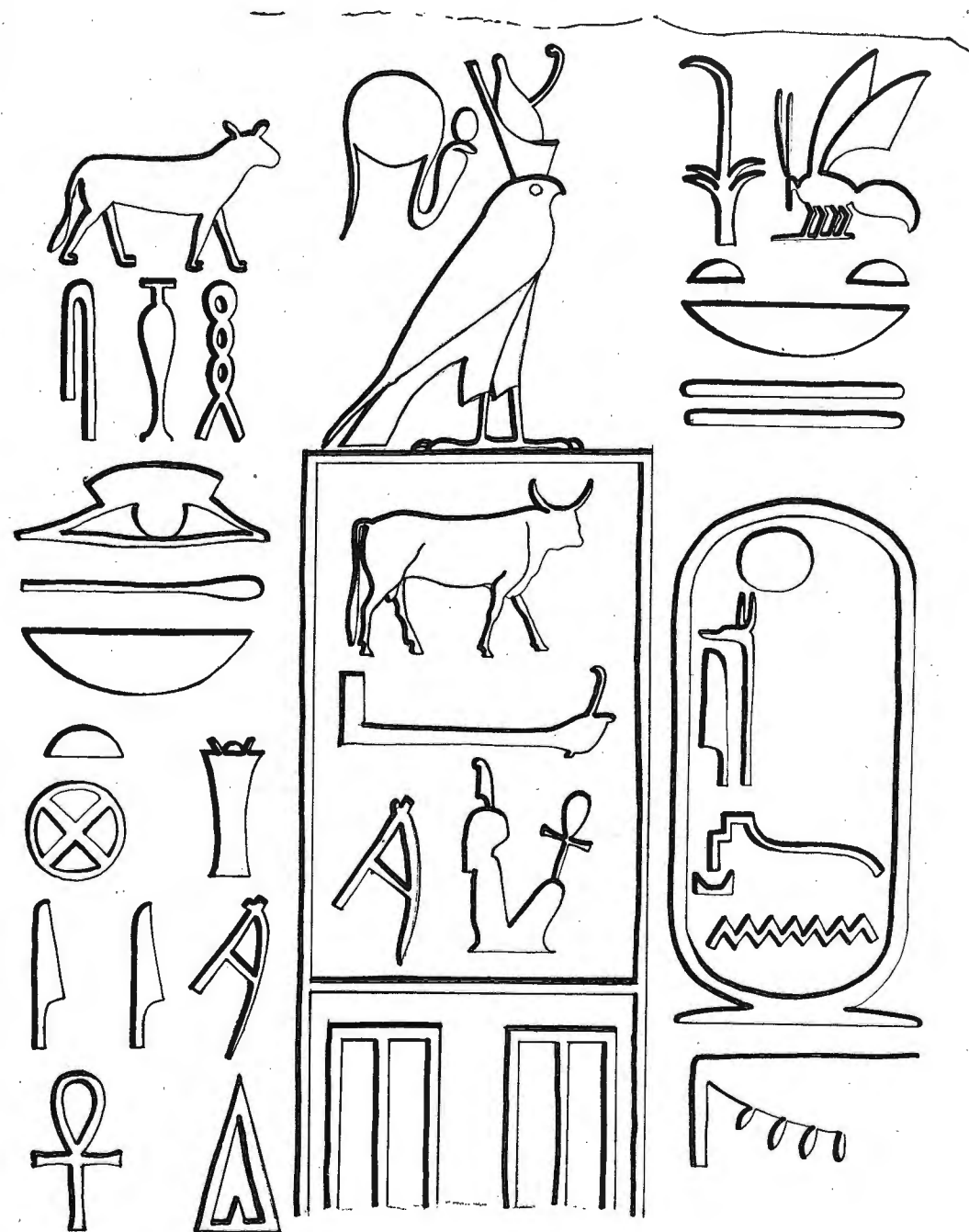


Fig. 14 B.

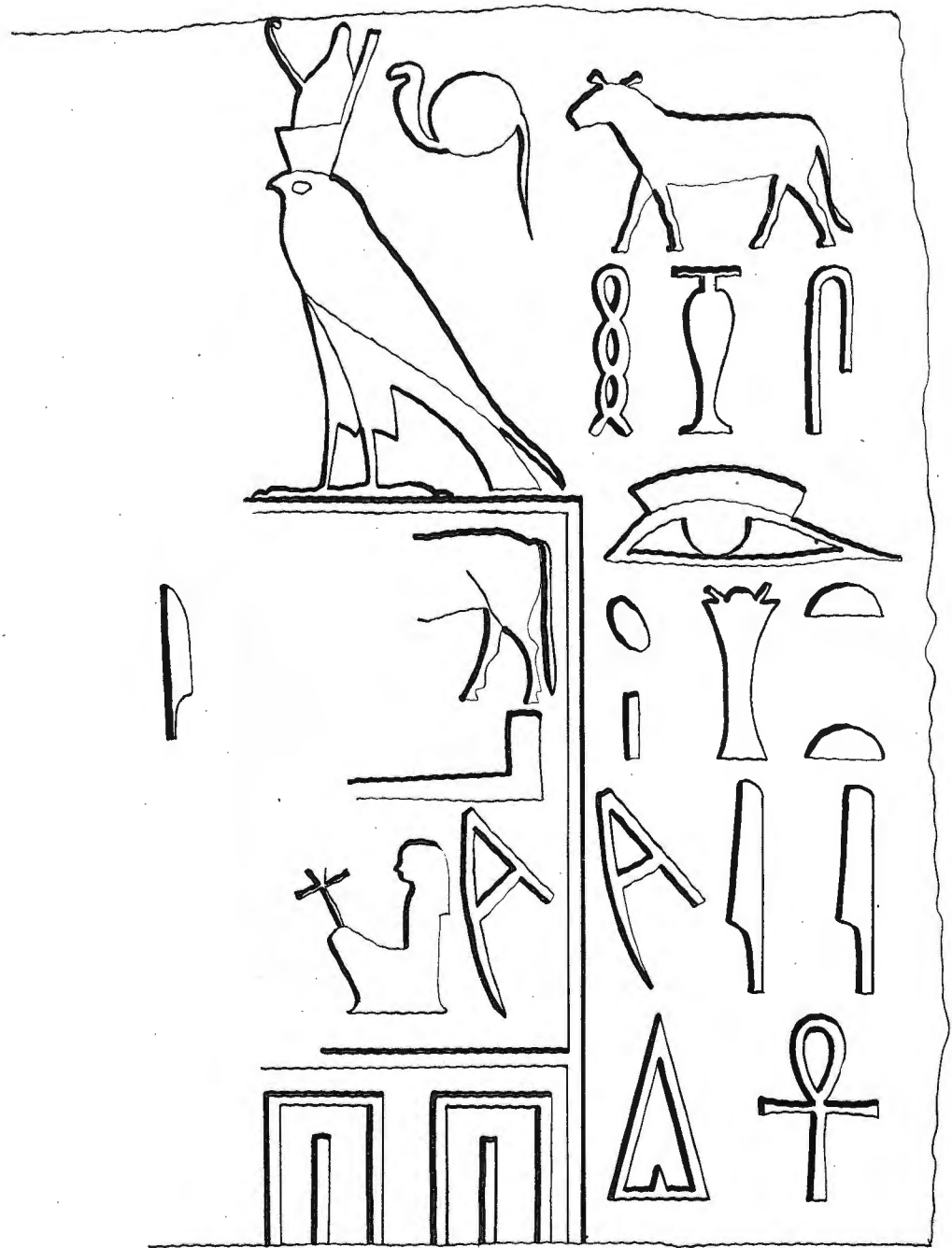


Fig. 14 C.

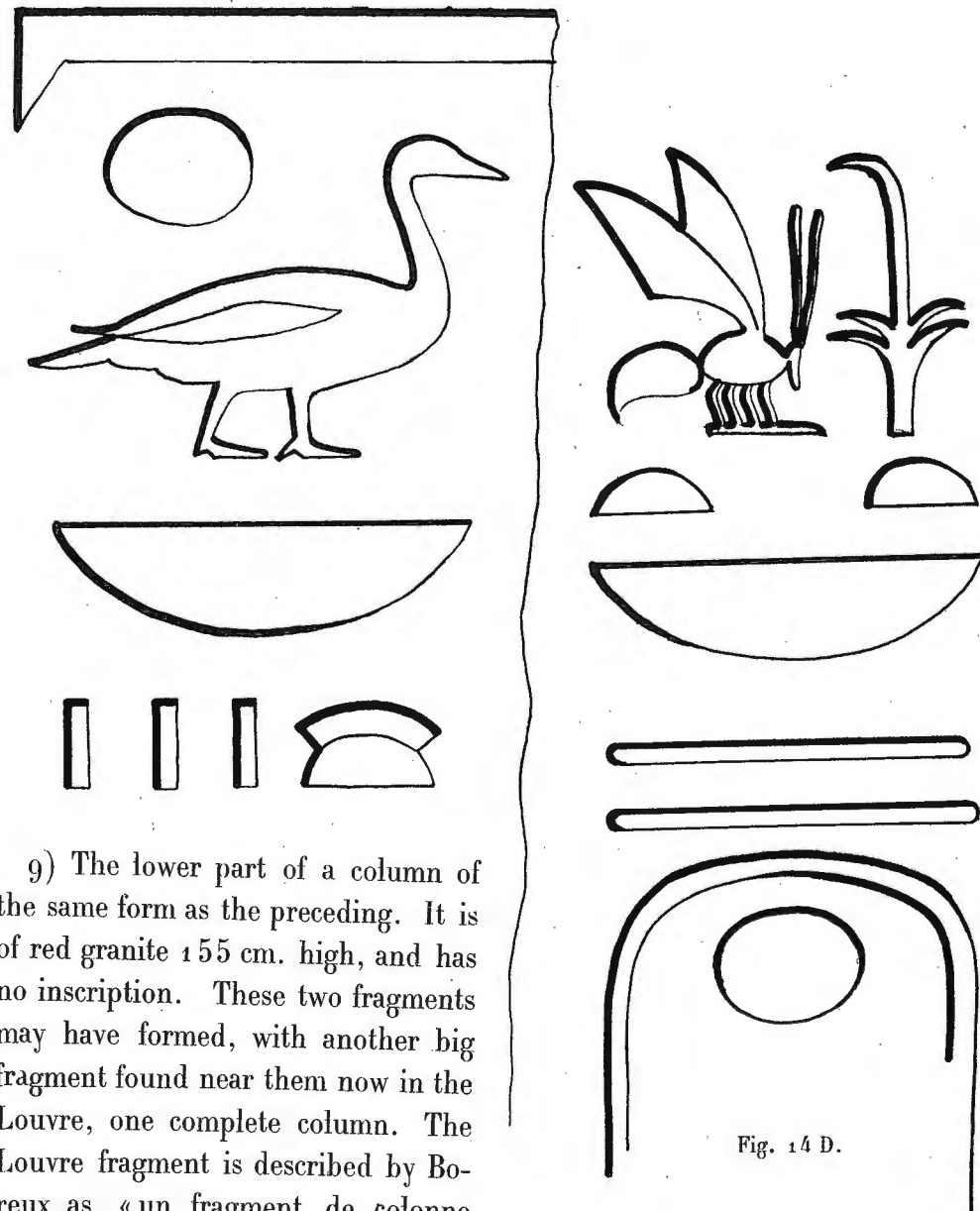


Fig. 14 D.

9) The lower part of a column of the same form as the preceding. It is of red granite 155 cm. high, and has no inscription. These two fragments may have formed, with another big fragment found near them now in the Louvre, one complete column. The Louvre fragment is described by Boreux as « un fragment de colonne papyriforme fasciculée, en granit rose, qui faisait partie d'une travée latérale de la salle hypostyle (haut. 1 m. 91) ⁽¹⁾ ». The total height of the three fragments would be thus about that of the other columns. It is to be noted that

⁽¹⁾ *Catalogue sommaire, Musée national du Louvre* (1932), p. 60, B 55.

Boreux is not correct in assigning the Louvre fragment to the so-called Hypostyle Hall.

10) Upper part of a similar column with papyrus-bud capital. It is the biggest fragment left, as it is 275 cm. high. It is also of red granite and bears the few signs shown in fig. 14 D.

11) Lower part of a column. It is of red granite. 168 cm. high, and has no inscription. It is very probable that it fits with the previous block; the two together attaining the height of 4.25 ms. The diameter of these two latter columns is almost the same as that of the columns with palm-leaf capitals and all of them must have been used in the same building.

A few metres to the south seven more blocks were brought to light. Three of these are unimportant; two being unpolished and irregular while the third may have been the pedestal of a statue. The four remaining blocks (nos. 12-15), also of red granite, are all round in form and seem to have been originally used as bases for the above-mentioned columns. They are about 130 cm. in diameter. Two of these bases were cut from a monument of Ramesses II, for on one there is his *serekh*-name followed by his prenomen (fig. 15 A), while the other has his nomen above the festival sign (fig. 15 B). These inscriptions arranged in two pairs of vertical lines facing in opposite directions. A third block has the representation of a hawk-headed god sitting on a throne; extending the sign of life with one hand and followed by the sign of —. To judge from its form it may have been used originally as a door-lintel or top of a stela having the god giving the sign of life to the king's *serekh*.

One block to the north of the fragments of the columns proved to be of some importance. This formed part of the corner of a wall building, since it has scenes on two adjacent sides. On one side Osorkon II is seen offering the *wd;t*-eye to Bastet, above whom is seen the following inscription: *I give thee every land in obeisance (and) I give thee all power like Rê. Speech of Bastet who is over the secrets of Atum, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands.* On the other face is the representation of a falcon-headed god with the double crown giving the sign of life to the nose of the king⁽¹⁾. This is the god Hor-ḥekenu, who is known to be the son of Bastet. He is here given the

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 50 and pl. XLI-E and-H.

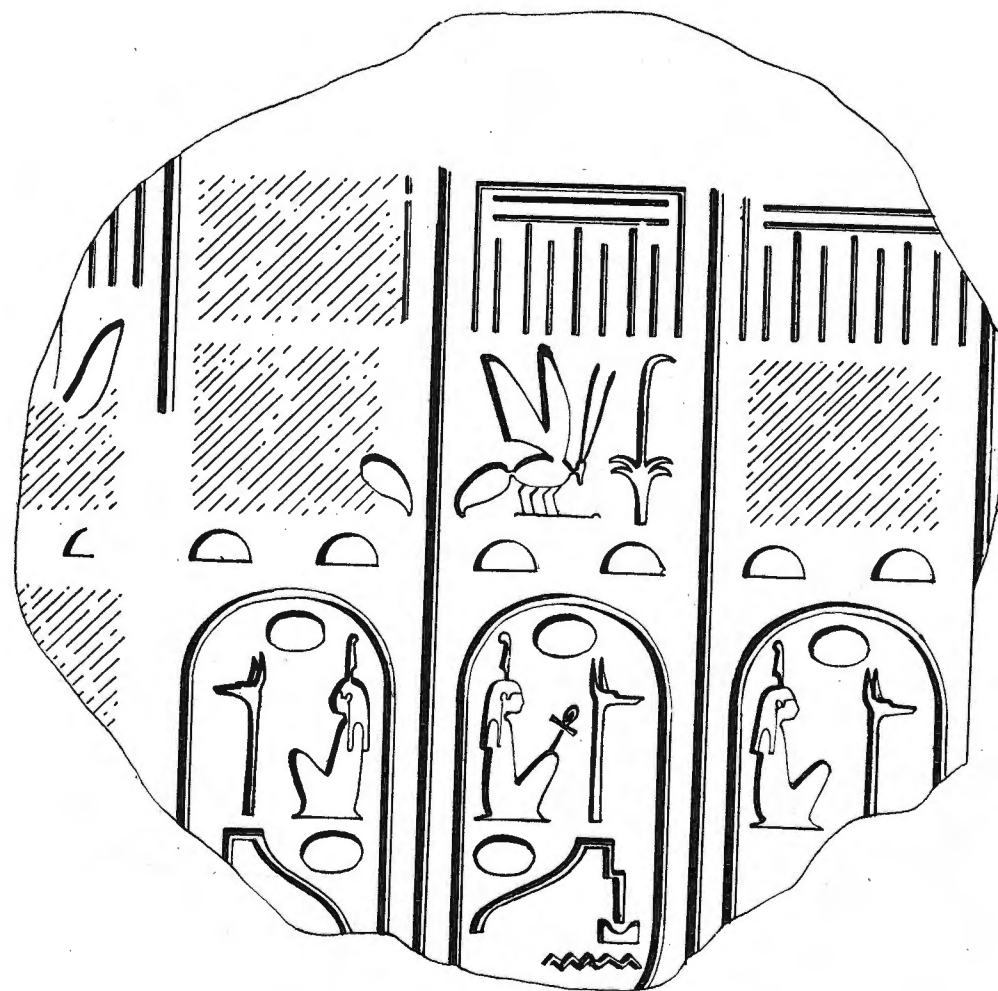


Fig. 15. A

title: «master of protection», which is peculiar to him and which is found many times in the temple. The inscription opposite gives the names of Osorkon II (pl. XIII A).

No wall or trace of a wall was found but it can be said with confidence that originally these columns once stood in a sort of chamber perhaps of limestone or sandstone. The inscriptions on the columns were almost identical. Each consisted of four vertical lines with the heaven-sign above, vertical lines on the sides and a horizontal one underneath. The prenomen and the nomen

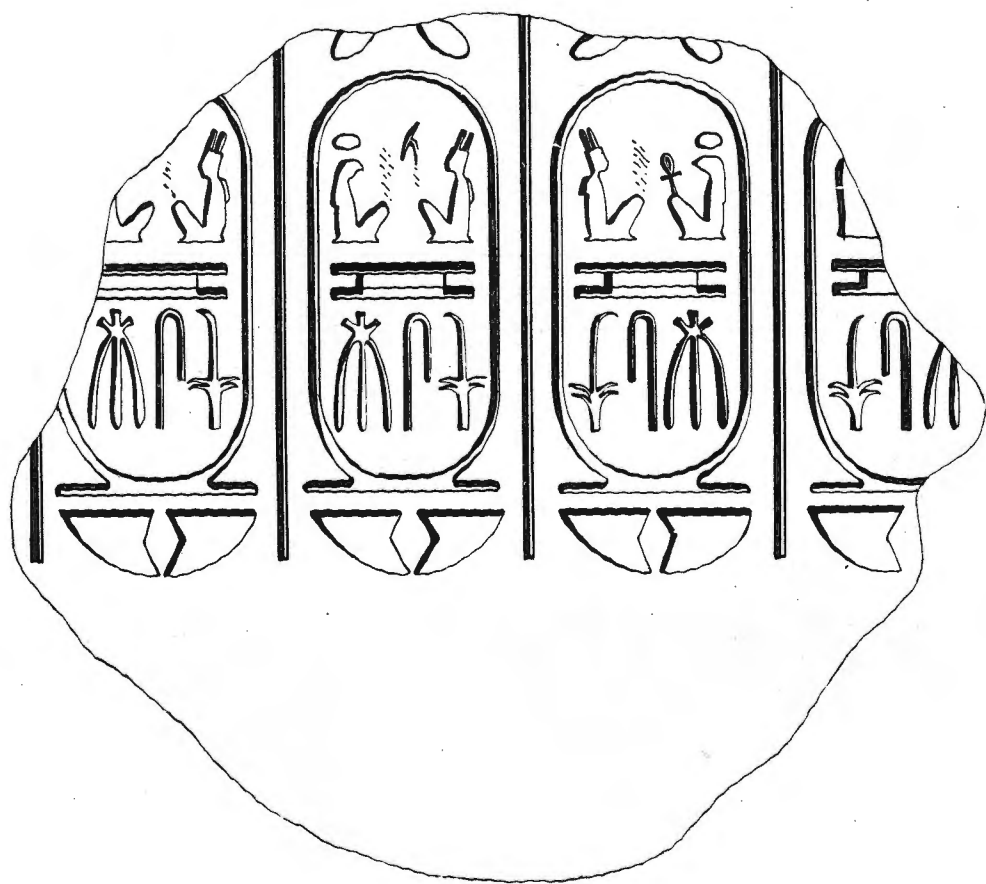


Fig. 15 B.

of Osorkon II were inscribed opposite the Horus name followed by a line which reads once « Beloved of Mihos, son of Bastet, given life », and twice « Beloved of Mihos, the great (?), lord of Bubastis, given life ». The inscription on the fourth column (14 D) is much mutilated but what remains of it shows that it must have been the same as on the other columns. It is to be noted that we usually have the Horus-name, prenomen and nomen of the king facing the divinity's name but this is not exactly the case here.

As we have seen above Naville considered the fragments found here to be the remains of a doorway or portico to the Great Temple, but this hypothesis cannot be accepted for two reasons. The location of the ruins of the build-

ing, about 100 ms. from the halls also erected by Osorkon II, shows that it is unlikely that the former could have been a portico or doorway to the latter. Again the structure is not on the same axis as these halls which would have been the case if the former was a doorway to the latter.





Considering the inscriptions on the columns we find that they all refer to Mihos and not to Bastet, the chief divinity of the place. On the block near to the columns which was perhaps a part of the entrance, we have on one side the representation of Bastet and on the other that of the god Hor-hekenu, who was considered to be another form of Mihos, the son of Bastet. We shall see that this son is given many names. In addition to Mihos and Hor-hekenu, as we have just seen, he was also called Monthu and Nefertum. The names and the figures of these gods are sometimes met with on the walls of the Great Temple but in such cases they are almost always behind the goddess. There the goddess has the chief position which is not the case in the so-called doorway or portico. It may be assumed, therefore, that this building was not dedicated to her but to the cult of her son. Thus her son had a special temple for his worship, which was considerably smaller than the temple of the goddess.

As for the date of this building, it has been seen that the names of Osorkon II were inscribed on the columns and the block from the entrance. Although in some places these names look as if they are the result of usurpation, this seems to be due to the fact that the blocks have been much damaged by the subsoil water. When we consider the form of columns we find that they are smaller in dimensions than similar columns of earlier periods. They cannot have been taken from older buildings and we feel safe in assuming that they were engraved by Osorkon II whose names are seen on them.

NOTES ON THE ENTRANCE HALL

By the « Entrance Hall » is meant the ruined hall at the extreme east (pl. XIV). When Naville cleared that area he found many blocks with reliefs of Osorkon I and some reused fragments of earlier date. The earliest blocks were inscribed with the names of Khufu and Khephren, but there were also found

the names of Sesostris I, Sesostris III, Sebekhotep III and Apophis⁽¹⁾. Of Ramesses II, there were discovered a few blocks with fragmentary reliefs, most interesting of which is a fragment, perhaps the back of a statue, which enumerates local divinities⁽²⁾. In this hall not many parts of columns were found, but these may have been taken away to be reused in other places. It is very likely that the hall was rectangular and measured 24 ms. by 48 ms., as Naville suggested. The main entrance to this hall was undoubtedly on the east and was adorned with two statues. The inside of the hall was decorated with reliefs arranged in registers showing Osorkon I before the divinities of Bubastis and the other great gods of Egypt. The former divinities were more often shown than the latter, who were usually referred to as lords of the chief places of their worship, and described at the same time, as residing in Bubastis. It is to be noted that Naville stated that many blocks from this hall had been removed to museums although he did not indicate the name of the museum in which each was to be found.





Two fragments published by Naville are worth reconsiderations here. In describing them he says: «Two fragments of red limestone have been found in the first hall, both bearing very large inscriptions carefully engraved. One of these was horizontal (pl. XLIX.C); it accompanied probably a scene of offerings. It mentions *the great princess*, who may be Bast or any other goddess. The other is vertical, and reads, *the gods, by the art of Shet* , another name of Bast (pl. XLIX.D). Immediately after came the name of the king, entirely destroyed»⁽³⁾. These two are among the very few quartzite blocks found in the ruins. The first has two horizontal lines of inscription of which the following words remain:  [.....]   [....., *The pri*]ncess, *greatly praised, mistress of Upper [and Lower] Egypt* (2)... *every... that she desires, Htpw[n-Imn(?)]*... (pl. XIII B). It is clear that the inscription refers to a certain queen or princess and not to Bastet or any other goddess. The name of the queen is incomplete, but since it begins with the word Hotpu, it may be that of Hotpuenamen, one of the daughters of Ramesses II⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For these blocks, see *ibid.*, p. 4 and pls. XXXII-XXXIV.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 41 and pl. XXXVIII-B.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁽⁴⁾ GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, III, p. 111.

The second fragment is the middle of a huge statue on which a vertical line of inscription is seen on the dorsal pillar; this reads: ...    ... «...*Pacifying the gods in doing justice, King of [Upper and Lower Egypt]*...» (pl. XVA). It is clear that this inscription gives the name of a king and not that of a goddess as Naville believed. This king must have been Osorkon II whose Nebti-name was: «Uniting the two parts (of Egypt) like the son of Isis, pacifying the gods in doing justice»⁽¹⁾. But even if the statue at Bubastis was inscribed with the name of Osorkon II, it does not mean that the statue was originally made for him. One can still see many signs from earlier inscriptions which originally decorated it. The same can be said of the other part of the statue just described which was made for a princess. The two fragments, inasmuch as they are both of quartzite, a rare stone in the ruins of Bubastis, and inasmuch as they were found near each other, may actually have been originally parts of the same statue. Possibly this statue was originally made by one of the kings of the XIIth dynasty, who made many statues of quartzite, and then was usurped by Ramesses II and later still by Osorkon II. It is true that statues and other blocks were reused many times in Bubastis, a fact which we shall have the opportunity to show many times later on in discussing various blocks of which the different parts of the temple of Bastet were erected.

⁽¹⁾ The *Nebti*-name of this king has many variants, see *ibid.*, III, p. 338-339, but it is found in this form on his shrine discovered in Tell Basta (Cairo Mus.). The word *Ma'ēt* and not *Shet* is clear on the fragment.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL NOTES ON THE GREAT TEMPLE [II]: FESTIVAL HALL AND HYPOSTYLE HALL

NOTES ON THE FESTIVAL HALL

The Festival Hall of Osorkon II (pl. XVI) may be considered the most important part of the Great Temple, for its reliefs present the most complete record which has reached us of the important ceremonies performed at the *hb-sd* festival of kings.

Nville discovered about one third of the decorated blocks⁽¹⁾, but these were either sent to various museums or left in place subject to damage from atmospheric changes and contact with subsoil water. These blocks, if assembled, would give us a good idea of the appearance of a Festival Hall. The present time may not be quite suitable for carrying out such a scheme, but it is hoped that blocks left *in situ* may be removed from contact with the subsoil water and that fragments sent to museums abroad may be returned or casts of them be made available for the eventual reconstruction. Nville made an exhaustive study of the sculptures and prepared drawings for the reconstruction of the building and its decoration, which will be of great use when the scheme is carried out.

According to Nville the building possibly consisted of a hall measuring 24 ms. by 36 ms. perhaps of limestone with a huge portal of red granite. The entrance opening to the east was «like that which exists at Soleb, between the first and the second hall, a long doorway, the two sides of which are broader than the enclosing wall, and project into one of the halls, so as to form with the enclosure an angle where statues or colossi were standing»⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ He devoted to this building a special volume called *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis*, Egypt Exploration Fund, Tenth Memoir (London 1892).

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 1 f.

Most of the scenes depicting the ceremonies of the Festival of Osorkon II were found on the doorway. The façade shows the king wearing the double crown. The side walls and the inner face are decorated with scenes representing Osorkon II as king of Upper Egypt on the south side and king of Lower Egypt on the north side. These scenes depict the ceremonies of the *hb-sd* festival held in the 22nd year of the reign of the king⁽¹⁾. He is represented as the chief person in the Festival and is seen sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by the queen, performing certain ceremonies while surrounded by high officials, priests and members of the royal family. The names of Thebes and Amûn occur often in the inscriptions as if to show that the Festival was originally a Theban one. The goddess Bastet is seen also in many scenes standing before the king as if she were conducting him through the different stages of the Festival, and in one instance she gives him the signs of life and eternity⁽²⁾.



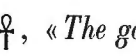
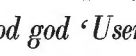
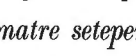
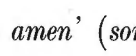

This portal was made up of blocks taken from earlier monuments. It is hardly possible to find a single block which has not an inscription or traces of an inscription of some previous king. The majority of these blocks bear one of the names of Ramesses II but some were usurped by him from his predecessors. Statues, architraves, stelae and columns are found in plenty, sometimes with one of the faces polished to receive a part of the scenes of the *hb-sd* Festival of Osorkon.

Among the unpublished blocks is an altar which we found concealed under a huge block. It is of basalt and is 80 cm. high 78 cm. thick with a projection 7 cm. broad on all the sides of the top (pl. XV B). It is known that the upper part of a shrine (Cairo Mus. no. 70006) inscribed with the name of Osorkon II was found sixty metres to the east of the temple⁽³⁾. This shrine must have stood in the hall built by this king and quite likely the altar lately discovered originally stood in the same hall. On the walls of this hall representations of the sacred bark, sometimes placed on an altar, are found.

⁽¹⁾ For the date of the festival, see *ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁽³⁾ See DARESSY, *Rec. de Trav.*, XXIII, p. 132 [CLXXXIII] and ROEDER, *Naos*, pp. 24-25.

Yet another block which passed unnoticed by Naville is part of the double crown from a royal statue. Again, one side of it was polished to receive a scene of the *hb-sd* Festival. There the king is represented wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and a short kilt. The accompanying inscription reads :  [] , «The good god 'Usermatre setepen amen' (son of) Rê ...  given life». Behind him is the queen wearing a long garment and a crown with the two tall feathers and she is called : , «The king's wife 'Karoma'». Above them is a hawk who stands for  «The Falcon of Horus» and a cow referred to as  «Isis» (fig. 16). This scene resembles very much another already found by Naville⁽¹⁾.

THE HYPOSTYLE HALL

Immediately to the east of the Festival Hall is an empty space with a few blocks scattered here and there about it. Next come the fragments of columns and capitals which were considered by Naville to be the remains of the Third, or the Hypostyle Hall. This part of the temple seems to have been ruthlessly plundered, for nothing can be seen at present except drums and capitals of columns (pl. XVII). Only a few fragments of architraves and bases of columns are to be found. No wall or foundation of a wall can be traced, and it is difficult or even impossible to ascertain any details about the ground-plan. According to Naville there were in this part of the temple four kinds of supports : Pillars with big Hathor-head capitals, pillars with small Hathor-head capitals, columns with palm-leaf capitals and others with papyrus-bud capitals. Speaking of the capitals of the first two kinds of supports, he says : «The two groups have one point of similarity. The goddess is represented only on two opposite sides of the capital, and not on all four, as may be seen in later epochs. The great Hathors are a little above seven feet high. One of them had one side quite perfect because it rested on the ground; it is now in Boston Museum. The other three, more or less damaged, are at the Louvre, in the British Museum, and at Berlin. The head, (pl. IX, XXIII.A, XXIV.B) has the usual type of the goddess : a broad face

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV. I.



Fig. 16.

with ears of a heifer, the thick hair, instead of falling vertically, curls up outwards. Here and there, in the eyeballs and on the lips, traces of colour were still visible, and were even quite vivid, but faded away after a few hours of exposure in the air. Above the head, the little shrine which is commonly seen in this kind of capital, and which is particularly noticeable in the temple of Denderah, is reduced to a cornice adorned with asps bearing a solar disk. On the other sides are the emblems either of Northern or Southern Egypt, viz., the plant which belongs to each of these regions. It stands between two asps, wearing the corresponding headdress and placed in such a way that their heads are tucked along the hair of the goddess. There were two capitals with Northern emblems, and two with Southern emblems. The one in Boston is one of the North capitals. Below this representation was a blank space on which Osorkon II. engraved his cartouche. On the surface which rested on the pillar, Osorkon I. had a dedication engraved. The other group of four Hathor capitals is smaller and more simple (pl. XXIII.B). The cornice which is above the hair has no asps; the sides had no representations of North and South; they were a blank, and Osorkon II., engraved on them his cartouche. The best specimen has been sent to the Museum of Sydney. When we raised it, the lips were still covered with a vivid red paint»⁽¹⁾.

These capitals which were considered unique at the time of their discovery must still be considered as such, for nothing similar has been found elsewhere in Egypt. It is true that other Hathor-capitals have been found, but these are not exactly of the same type and are not so beautifully modelled and polished. The sculpture of the goddess and of the emblems of the two parts of Egypt in high relief gives the capitals of Bubastis a wonderful appearance. When we were clearing the temple of Pepi I in 1939, we noticed the presence in the Great Temple of some fragments of similar capital and we began to clear around them to find out if they bore any important inscriptions. During this work we were fortunate enough to discover an almost complete capital. It is of red granite 143 cm. high, 150 cm. wide on the faces with the Hathor heads and 97 cm. on the other faces. One face only with a

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pp. 11-12.

Hathor head was badly weathered, but the other sides were in a fair state of preservation. The capital as a whole seems to represent the sistrum which is the instrument peculiar to Hathor. On two opposite faces the goddess is shown with her hair arranged in the same way as is found on most of the queens' statues of the Middle Kingdom. Above the head is the cornice surmounted by seven uræi with solar disks (pl. XVIII). On each of the remaining sides is a lily between two big uræi with crowns of Upper Egypt. Above is the cornice surmounted this time by only five small uræi with solar disks⁽¹⁾. One of the lilies seems not to have been completed (pl. XIX.A), but the other has beautiful details (pl. XIX.B), the stem leaves and the flower are minutely sculptured. Neither on the other side of the capital nor on the others already discovered is the plant so beautifully sculptured as it is in this case. This capital has been removed to the Cairo Museum, where it rests among the objects outside along the building (J. E. 72134).

FORMS OF THE HATHOR CAPITALS

Naville discovered four similar capitals which he sent abroad as has been stated above. He believed that these were the only capitals of the larger type which existed at Tell Basta, but the one which we have just described is quite similar. Moreover there may still be seen *in situ* eight pieces of similar capitals, each of which has some remains of the uræi and the emblematic plants which, according to Naville, are characteristic of the large ones. Two of these, which complete each other, are in a fair state of preservation. They form the upper part of a capital which has the papyrus plant and the uræi with the crown of Lower Egypt, the cornice and the small uræi at the top being complete. We noted that on parts of these capitals which are still

⁽¹⁾ The number of the uræi in the smaller type was not given by Naville when he described the capitals. Jéquier speaking of the big capitals, says that there are six uræi on each side above the cornice, *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne*, pl. 185. The capital in the British Museum is said to have big uræus representing Upper Egypt and another Lower Egypt below on the sides of the goddess head, see BUDGE, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries, Sculpture* (1909), p. 212, no. 768, but both uræi on the sides represent either Upper or Lower Egypt.

among the ruins there are traces of chiselling, a fact which shows that an attempt was made to reuse the blocks as building material.

Naville stated that there were four capitals of the smaller type, one of which was sent to the Sydney Museum, but we tried in vain to discover in the ruins any capital or part of a capital with similar characteristics. Yet it is most improbable that all these have since been taken away for all the other blocks he noted are still in place. It is possible, however, that when Naville found that the capital sent to Sydney was of a smaller size and had special characteristics, he identified it with other fragments which were badly damaged. In these fragments the characteristics of the so-called larger capitals are not very clear, although when minutely examined, they prove to have one or more of the same features.

Was the capital in the Sydney Museum then unique and, if so, what was the reason for its being so different? It is unlikely that in such a large number of capitals of the same type there should be a single one which is smaller in size, which has no uræi beside the Hathor heads and has no emblematic plants and uræi on the other sides. Was the capital at Sydney of the same form and size as the other capitals until for some reason the missing figures were chiselled out later? To learn whether this was true or not, we wrote to the Sydney Museum a letter asking about the form and dimensions of the capital. This request was passed on to the Nicholas Museum of the University of Sydney to which the capital has since been transferred. Mr. A. D. Trendale, the honorary Curator of the latter Museum, was so kind as to send me all the needed information along with photographs of the capital, and I take this opportunity to express to him my warmest thanks. The parts of the head of the goddess proved to have almost the same dimensions as those of the larger capital and that parts which had not been cut away were also about the same. The top and the sides which once had the large uræi and the plants are not so beautifully polished as are the sides with the Hathor heads, as can be easily seen from the photographs reproduced here (pl. XX). With reference to this last point Mr. Trendale points out in the letter: «There is certainly a difference in the polish of the two sides»⁽¹⁾. During the reign

⁽¹⁾ Letter dated 27 October 1945.

of Osorkon II who inscribed this capital with his names, it seems that the top and the sides with the plants were so badly damaged that a part of them was cut off before the names were engraved.

Naville assigned these capitals to the Twelfth Dynasty. The beauty of the polish and the details observed in modelling the head of the goddess, the uræi and the plants seem to point to that period. All these are sculptured in high relief with an accuracy not to be found in capitals of a similar type from later periods. Again it may be assumed that they are of the same date as the Middle Kingdom papyrus-bud columns which were found beside them and which were probably used with them in the same building. Somewhat similar Hathor capitals were found in other buildings of later date. In the chapel of Hathor to the south of the Punt colonnade in Deir el-Bahari there are some columns with similar capitals which date to the reign of Hatshepsut. These capitals have on two opposite faces the head of Hathor, while on the two other faces there is an uræus only⁽¹⁾. Recently we found a capital of the same type reused in the Ptolemaic temple at Elephantine, just beside the local Museum. This one dates from the reign of Tuthmosis III and, although it is not complete, it is clear that there had been also Hathor-heads on two opposite faces and the representation of the king in the presence of divinities on the other two sides. The same type of capital is found in certain temples of Amenophis III. In his temple on the east side at El-Kab there are columns with similar capitals⁽²⁾ and at Sedeinga in Upper Nubia, it is said that there is a capital similar to those at Bubastis⁽³⁾. Such capitals, which required much care in execution, are rarely found in the temples of the Ramessides and the Ethiopians, but in the Saitic period they are again met with, for columns with similar capitals inscribed with the names of Apries have been found at various places⁽⁴⁾. Some once stood in a temple of the goddess Neit in Sais⁽⁵⁾. Later Achoris built at Karnak a temple with similar columns which were recently discovered⁽⁶⁾. In Mendes a red granite

⁽¹⁾ NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, III, pl. XLVIII.

⁽²⁾ JÉQUIER, *Temples memphites et thébains*, pl. 73.

⁽³⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 12.

⁽⁴⁾ GAUTHIER, « Un édifice hathorique à Sais », in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXII, pp. 199-200.

⁽⁵⁾ JÉQUIER, *Temples ramessides et saïtes*, pl. 78 (5).

⁽⁶⁾ VARILLE, *Karnak*, I, p. 30, pls. XCI, XCII.

capital was unearthed a long time ago and then transferred to the Cairo Museum (J. E. 50039 B)⁽¹⁾. This is assigned to the XXXth Dynasty, since some inscribed fragments of this dynasty were found nearby⁽²⁾. In the Graeco-Roman period this type of capital became even more common, though usually it was modelled with the Hathor-head on the four faces. We have a good example of this type in the First Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Hathor in Denderah. In spite of the fact that many of the capitals are terribly damaged, they still retain quite a striking aspect.

Naville says « We are in a complete uncertainty as to the exact distribution of the hall and to the manner in which the capitals were disposed. But I cannot help thinking that the Hathors were on the top of square pillars, standing alternately with the columns, so that the arrangement was quite analogous to the small temple in Deir el-Medineh »⁽³⁾. It is, indeed, difficult to determine the form of the building erected at that spot. There were about twelve Hathor capitals and about the same number of papyrus-bud capitals but there is no indication of the ground plan nor any certain evidence that they actually stood there originally. The one thing that is certain is that they all rested on round columns and not on square pillars when they were first built. There are to be seen in the ruins parts of round columns and not a fragment of any square pillar. Moreover, the majority of similar capitals elsewhere were placed on round columns and not on square pillars.

PAPYRUS-BUD COLUMNS

Side by side with the Hathor capitals were discovered fragments of huge palm-leaf and papyrus-bud columns. None of the papyrus-bud columns was found complete, not even in two parts, for the majority was broken into several fragments. Naville found an upper part of a column in a fair state of

⁽¹⁾ NAVILLE, *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, I (1892-3), p. 8. See also PORTER-MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 35.

⁽²⁾ Jéquier who made a study of columns with Hathor capitals in *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, pp. 184-193 assigns the capital of Mendes to the Middle Kingdom (see *ibid.*, p. 186), but, since it resembles the capital of Achoris at Karnak it may be attributed rather to the XXXth dynasty.

⁽³⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 12.

preservation, nearly 4 ms. high, which he sent to the Boston Museum. There are still in the ruins four large blocks close to each other which form almost a complete column (pl. XXI.A). The complete column seems to have been 7 ms. high. This type of column has been described by Capart, who says: « It normally consists of eight stems whose section, instead of being round as in the lotus, is sharply triangular, which also corresponds with the natural form of the stem. From the capital downwards the shaft enlarges down to a point near the base where it narrows down in the way whose origin we have just explained. The lower part of each of the stems is ornamented with a triangular decoration in imitation of the root leaves and leaflets at the foot of the plant. Above the bands is a number of closed blossoms, one to each of the stems below, and likewise ornamented with the triangular device, this time in imitation of sepals. This decoration is broken by the bundles of little stems, each of which is fixed by bands of its own⁽¹⁾». This is the description of the normal form of this type of column, but in each period it appears to have had special characteristics. Thus in the Twelfth Dynasty, the small stems, usually three in number between pairs of large stems, have triangular decorations at the bottom and just above the band⁽²⁾. This peculiar decoration is very conspicuous on columns of Amenemhêt III and Sobknofru at the Labyrinth. It has been claimed that this feature is not to be observed on the columns of Bubastis⁽³⁾, but on the part of a capital which is still to be seen among the ruins, it is clearly visible.

The same type is found without this feature afterwards in the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in the reign of Tuthmosis III, to whom can be attributed the four granite columns in front of the three sanctuaries of Luxor Temple⁽⁴⁾,

⁽¹⁾ *Egyptian Art : Introductory Studies*, translation by Dawson, p. 121.

⁽²⁾ BORCHARDT, *Die aegy. Pflanzensäule*, fig. 55.

⁽³⁾ Note the drawing given by NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, pl. LIII, see also FOUCART, *Histoire de l'ordre lotiforme*, p. 147 and note 2.

⁽⁴⁾ Jéquier who studied the columns of this type, published a photo attributing them to the Middle Kingdom, *Manuel* (fig. 138), but there is no clear reason for accepting this theory. They resemble the columns of Tuthmosis III in the Temple of Karnak, both sets having no details in the stems which characterize the columns of the Middle Kingdom. To this may be added the fact that no buildings or parts of buildings in Luxor Temple can be attributed to that period, while many blocks with inscriptions of Tuthmosis III have been found there.

and the three sandstone columns in the so-called Botanical Garden in Karnak. Later on in the same dynasty and in the Nineteenth Dynasty, similar columns began to lose much of their beauty and characteristics until their original form eventually became almost unrecognizable in the XIXth and the XXth dynasties⁽¹⁾. Similar columns were found in the so-called portico of Osorkon II which we have shown in the last chapter to have been a temple dedicated to the son of Bastet. In this building we have noted that such columns were of small dimensions. This characteristic differentiates them from earlier and later types.

On the base of these observations it can be said with certainty that the fragments of papyrus-bud columns found in the so-called Hypostyle Hall of Bubastis should be attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty. The beauty of the sculpture and polish can still be discerned on these fragments despite the damage wrought on them at the hands of men and atmospheric changes. On each column inscriptions were later engraved by Ramesses II. These were composed of four, six or eight columns under the heaven sign with a sceptre on each side and the sign of earth underneath. They usually have the Horus name, the prenomen and nomen of the king, opposite which is a representation of one of the gods giving the sign of dominion to the Horus perched on the *serekh* of the king. On some columns two or three divinities are engraved. In the reign of Osorkon II the names of Ramesses II were erased and replaced by those of the reigning king.

A third type of columns was also discovered in the same spot. These are the columns with palm-leaf capitals, usually formed of nine leaves⁽²⁾. Of this type many are known dating to the Fifth Dynasty. Later, during the Middle Kingdom, they continued to be used in tombs but rarely in temples.

The type seems to have been very rarely used thereafter. In the so-called Portico of Osorkon II similar columns of smaller dimensions were met with.

⁽¹⁾ In the Mortuary Temple of Seti I, usually called the Gurneh Temple, can be seen some papyrus-bud columns which still keep some of the original characteristics of the plant and others which have lost all these characteristics. From that time down to the end of the XXth dynasty the latter type was prevalent.

⁽²⁾ For these columns, see JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-201.

Naville said that there were four of the columns in the so-called Hypostyle Hall, but only two are now known, one in the British Museum ⁽¹⁾, and the other still lying near the Bahr Mueis in Street called Abu el-Reish in El-Zaqâzîq ⁽²⁾. These were inscribed, like the papyrus-bud columns discovered close to them, by Ramesses II and usurped later by Osorkon II. Fragments of other columns are still to be seen in the ruins

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 164, no. 1065 [598].

⁽²⁾ Referred to by NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, p. 2.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL NOTES ON THE GREAT TEMPLE [III] : THE TEMPLE OF NEKTANEBOS II (NEKHT-HAR-HEBI)

The hall built by Nektanebos II at Bubastis may be considered one of the most important buildings erected by the last Pharaoh of Egypt. This king did buildings in most of the big towns of Egypt, but it seems that he favoured Bubastis especially since the building he constructed there is one of his largest and most important monuments. The ruins of this building covers an area about fifty metres on a side and it seems that the original structure was not much smaller. Hundreds of huge blocks of basalt and red and grey granite still lie there (pl. XXII), but in order to obtain an idea of the original appearance of the building it must be remembered that scores of big blocks were removed to other places and to museums. Moreover, all around the ruins there are thousands of chips of different kinds of stone especially limestone and quartzite, of which scarcely any large blocks can now be seen in place. This shows clearly that the place was once used as a quarry. We shall see later how a large part of the ruins was taken to far-distant places to be used as building material.

Naville published the inscriptions he found in this building. He stated that these were only fragmentary and that it was not possible for him to translate even one complete sentence ⁽¹⁾. In an examination of all the inscriptions in this building we found that some had escaped the notice of the Swiss Egyptologist. We shall publish these and try, at the same time, to give a general idea of the form of the building and its decoration.

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 57.

THE EASTERN PART OF THE RUINS

To determine, if possible, how the temple looked like, we shall describe the ruins beginning at the east side. On this side parts of two doors lintels were found by Naville. One of them has a frieze of *khoker*-ornaments above a winged sun-disk from which two arms extend downwards. Between the arms is an

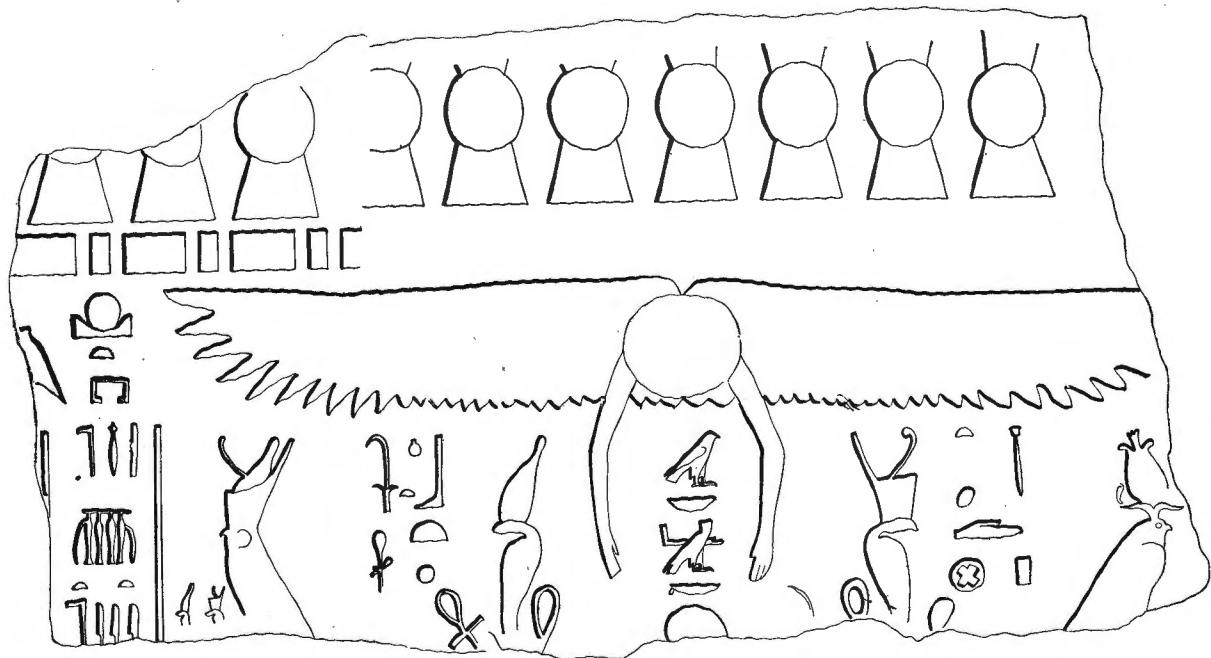
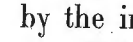





Fig. 17 A.

inscription mentioning «Horus, lord of protection». Outside the embrace of the arms are falcons with different crowns and two uræi called «*Nekhabet Hedjet*» and «*Edjō of Depet*». To the left is the remainder of an inscription which mentions a god whose name is not preserved, but who is described as «...the great god, pre-eminent in the Field-of-the-God»⁽¹⁾ (fig. 17 A).

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-A. The god referred to here is undoubtedly Horus, master of protection, mentioned on the following block.

This block seems to fit with a second one showing the king kneeling before an offering table and holding a sceptre in one hand and an incense cup in the other (fig. 17 B). Before and above him are his prenomen and his nomen and a vertical line to the right reading : «*Utterance of Horus, lord of protection*». At the top there is a horizontal line of text reading : «The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven with dappled plumage, who came forth from (the horizon)»⁽¹⁾. This last text fits with the text accompanying the winged disk on the previous block. A block which also fits with this one was found nearby. It has the representation of an offering table with a part of a king's figure. These three blocks must, therefore, fit together and the scene would originally have been the two figures of the king with offering tables facing the figures of falcons between.

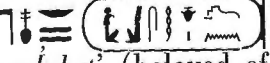
A second lintel has not been published before. It was found in the southeastern part of the ruins of the building, not far from the other pieces of lintel. It has in the middle a frieze of tall *khoker*-ornaments under which is a winged solar disk with the arms holding two feathers. The disk is identified by the inscription :  «The Behdetite the great god, lord of heaven», (pl. XXI-B and fig. 18). Below is a vulture with the *atef*-crown which was perhaps perched on a lily. The vulture presents the sign of dominion to a hawk with the double crown, which probably stood on the Horus-name of the king. Behind the vulture is an inscription referring to it and reading :  «*Nekhabet, the White one of Nekhen, long of arm, (mistress of the Upper Egyptian Palace)*». Then comes the inscription :  «*Utterance of Bastet the great, Lady of Bubastis, mistress of Pr-nst*». Opposite this last inscription is the representation of Hapi with a clump of papyrus on his head and on his hands a table with cakes and flowers. From the table hang three ropes. At the feet of the god stands an ox decorated with flowers and with one horn pointing upwards while the other points downwards. Above Hapi is the inscription :  «*Utterance of Hapi*», and before him is a hawk with the double crown standing over a shrine and beneath a sun-disk with one wing presented.

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XLIV-O.



Fig. 17 B.

Fig. 17 C.

This scene is less than half preserved, hence this face of the lintel should have been originally not less than three metres long. On an adjacent face of this block part of a scene which decorated the ceiling of the doorway is still visible. From this part of the ceiling and the parts of the same on the other lintels it is clear that the ceiling had on sides a column of inscription beginning with :  «The good god, lord of the Two Lands, 'Sndm-ib-R' stp-n-İnhrt' (beloved of Bastet) » (fig. 19). Between these two lines there were represented alternately the vulture with the crown of Upper Egypt and the uræus with that of Lower Egypt. These were

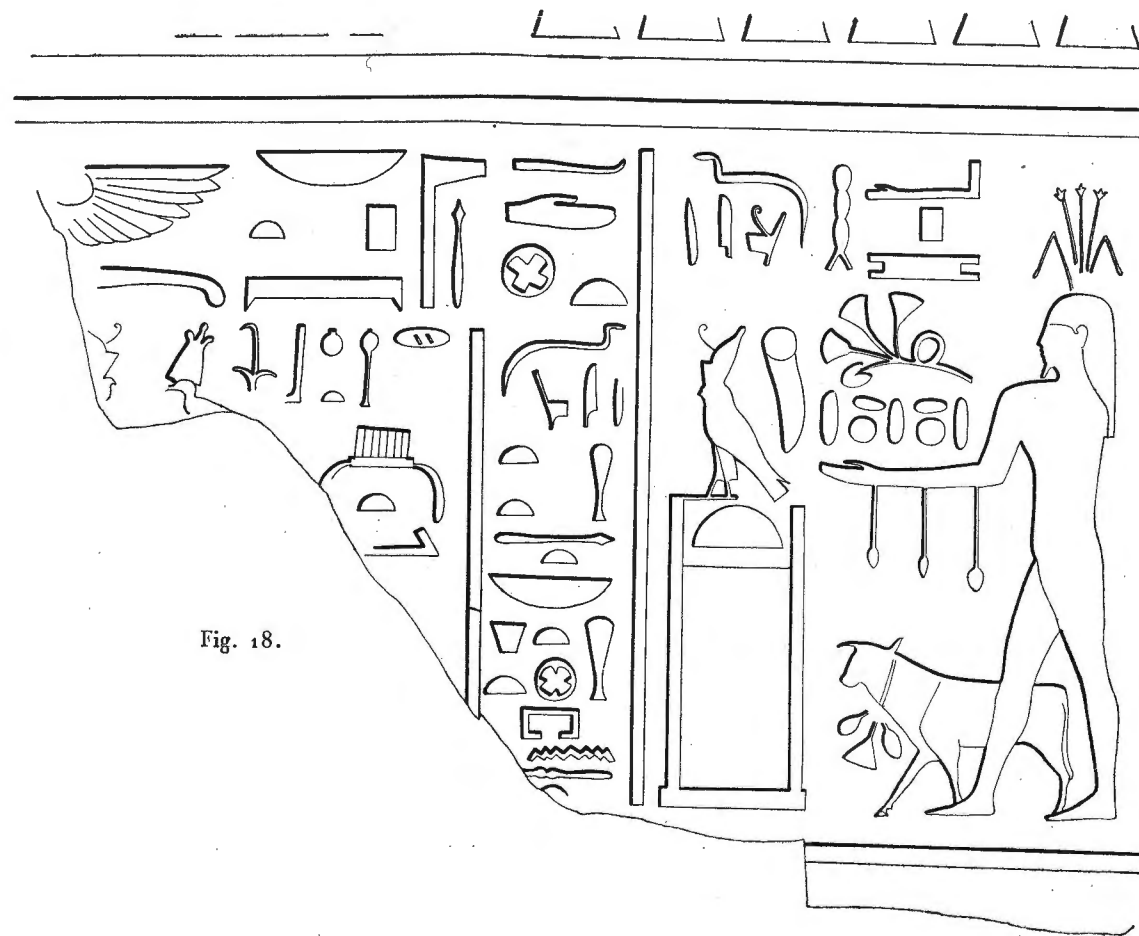

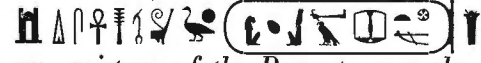


Fig. 18.

shown with outstretched wings, holding a feather in each claw. Above the vulture was inscribed in a horizontal line the inscription :



« Nekhabit, the White One of Nekhen, long of arm, mistress of the Upper Egyptian Palace, she gives life, stability and dominion to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Sndm-ib-R' stp-n-İnhrt, Son of Rē 'Nht-Hr-hbi s;-B;stt mry-İnhrt' ». Above the uræus was also another horizontal line reading :   « Edjō of Pe-Dept, lady of the Per-nw, mistress of the Pr-nst, may she give life, stability and dominion to the son of Rē, 'Nht-Hr-hbi s;-B;stt mry-İnhrt', beloved of Bastet the great, mistress of Bubastis ».

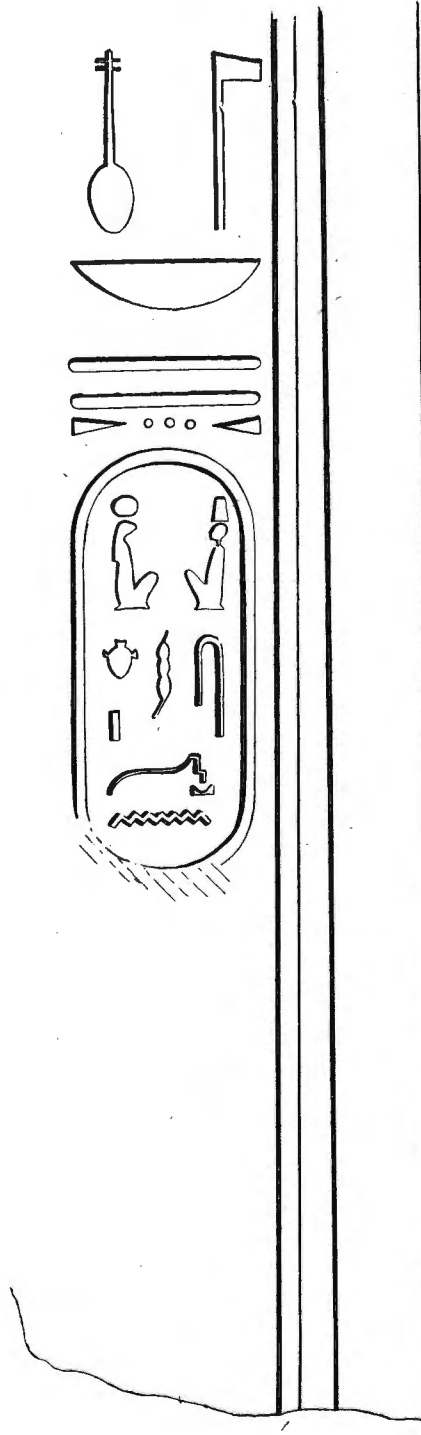


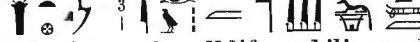


Fig. 19.

Such was the decoration of the ceiling of the doorway. There were at least two doorways in the eastern side leading into the building, each having a lintel on each face. Close to these lintels there were found two blocks which may have adorned the façade. One of these has a uræus on a basket above a clump of papyrus. Behind it is an inscription :  « *Edjō of Pe-Depet Lady of Pr-nw, residing in Pr-nsrt, may she give life and dominion like Rē forever* » (fig. 20). The other block has the upper part of a figure of Bastet with the inscription : 

 « *I give to thee all life, stability and dominion like Rē, (2) utterance of Bastet the great, mistress of Bubastis, who creates (3) the transformations in the Field-of-the-God, the one who is over the secrets of Atum* » (pl. XXIII-A). Just beside these blocks are two others with large uræi in high relief. These were probably used on the top of the façade of the temple.

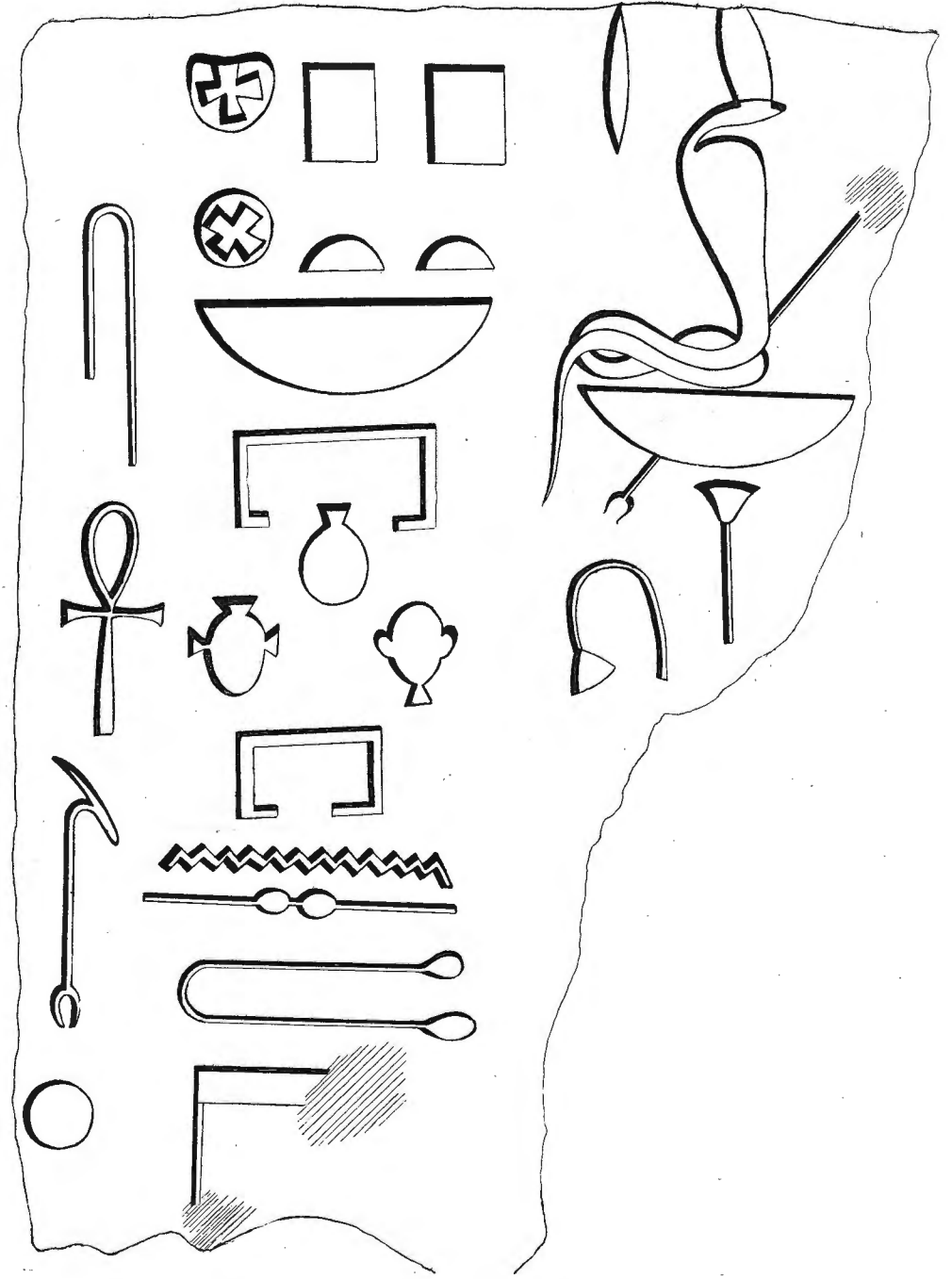



Fig. 20.

THE MIDDLE PART OF THE RUINS

Naville, finding that very few blocks with reliefs were to be found in the ruins, said: «I think the hall never was finished, the walls were to be covered with sculptures, a part of which only has been executed»⁽¹⁾. But is it true that the temple was left unfinished and that this is the reason why very few blocks still remain there? As Naville himself noted, the place was used as a quarry as can be deduced from the innumerable chips of stone which can be still seen around the ruins. We shall see in the next chapter that many blocks were removed to far-away places to be used as a building material. To this we may add that many other blocks remaining in the ruins and having more or less complete sculptures have not been published and that still others may prove to bear some reliefs if they are turned over.

In this part of the ruins Naville unearthed a block showing only the hand of a king, offering a jar of milk to a ram-headed god behind whom there is a goddess⁽²⁾. We found more fragments which belonged to the same section of the temple. One of these depicts the king before whom is a vulture standing on a basket over a lily clump. The vulture gives the sign of dominion to the Horus-name of the king followed by his prenomen and nomen. Opposite him can still be seen traces of divinities, the first being Bastet. Above these divinities are some signs of a speech which they usually address to the king in similar scenes. Another block has the king offering to a sitting Bastet, the detail of whose figure are beautifully carved. A third block may be somewhat important. It has two registers separated by the sign of the sky with stars in it. In the upper register the king is shown offering the sign of truth and having before him a big cartouche with figures of deities inside it. In the lower register there is part of a somewhat similar scene. The king is again seen offering, this time the *wd;t*-eye, and has before him a column of inscription reading: , «Offering the *Wd;t*-eye to his mother». In front

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 56.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-L. This is now in The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see SMITH, *Ancient Egypt* (1953), p. 157-8 where the god is referred to as Khnum. BOTHMER, *B. M. F. A.*, vol. LI (1953), p. 81 thought that it represented Banebded, but in point of fact it stood for god Harsaphes.

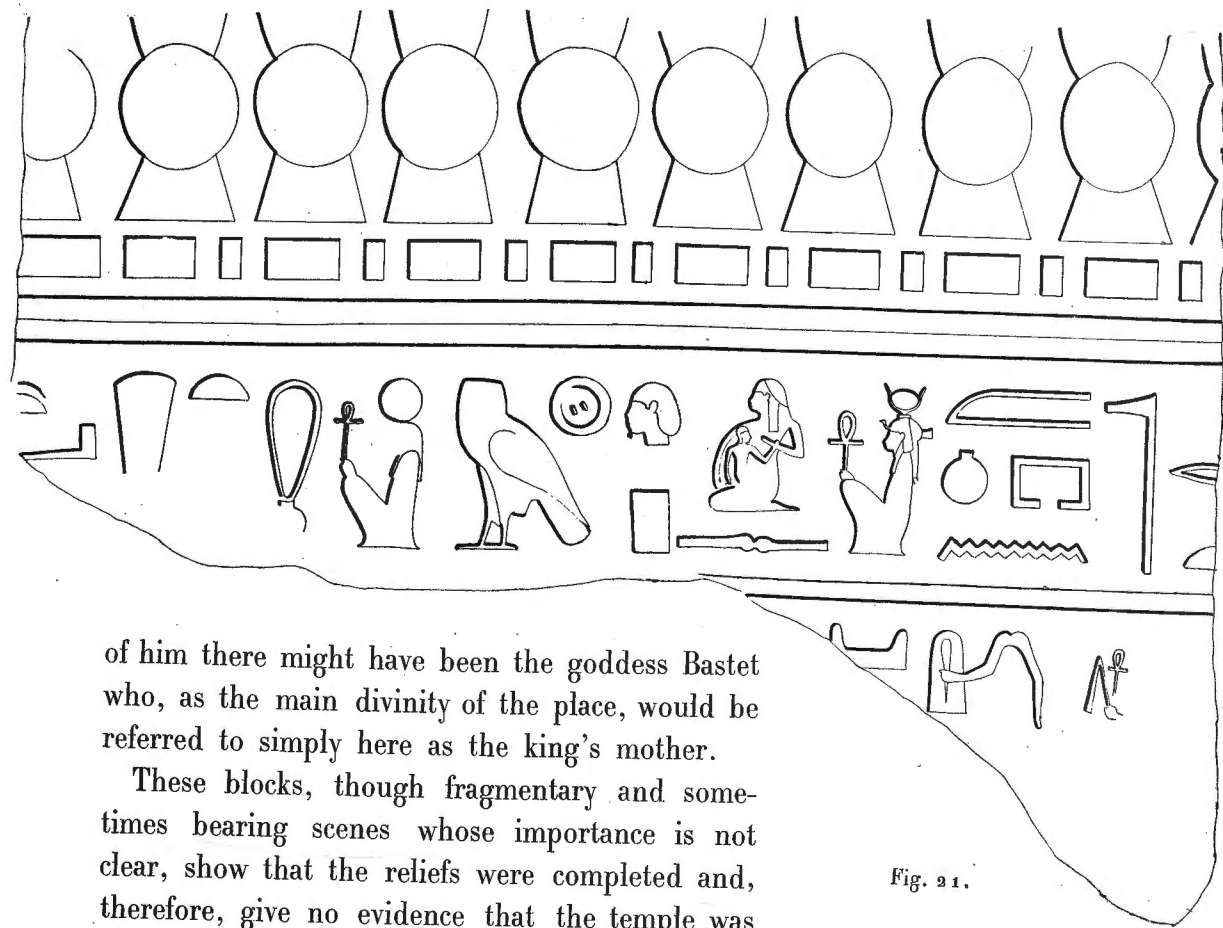

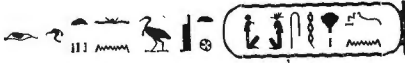



Fig. 31.

of him there might have been the goddess Bastet who, as the main divinity of the place, would be referred to simply here as the king's mother.

These blocks, though fragmentary and sometimes bearing scenes whose importance is not clear, show that the reliefs were completed and, therefore, give no evidence that the temple was left unfinished as Naville thought. They can give us, at the same time, a fair idea of the decoration of this part of the temple, for it is clear that these walls were decorated with several registers separated by the signs of the sky with stars in it. Each register contained representations of the king performing some kind of ceremonies before the divinities of Bubastis who promised him blessings in return. In this section of the temple very few fragments of columns were found. These, being useful for making mills, were always particularly liable to be carried away from the ruins. Two blocks which had formed part of the roof were found nearby. These have a column of inscription between two lines with stars all around. One of these has the end of an inscription:  «.... every joy like Ré....» while the

other reads :  « ...performing benefactions for Bubastis, (namely) 'Sndm-ib-R' stp-n-Inhrt'.

At the end of this part of the temple, Naville found two big blocks⁽¹⁾ with a tall frieze of *kheker*-signs below which are parts of two horizontal lines of large hieroglyphs. The first of these speaks of the dedication of the temple to the goddess Bastet. The second has an inscription which was not rightly copied by Naville. It reads :  « Bastet appears like Re^c in the beginning. She nurses Isis within Ntrt... the warrior » (fig. 21). We

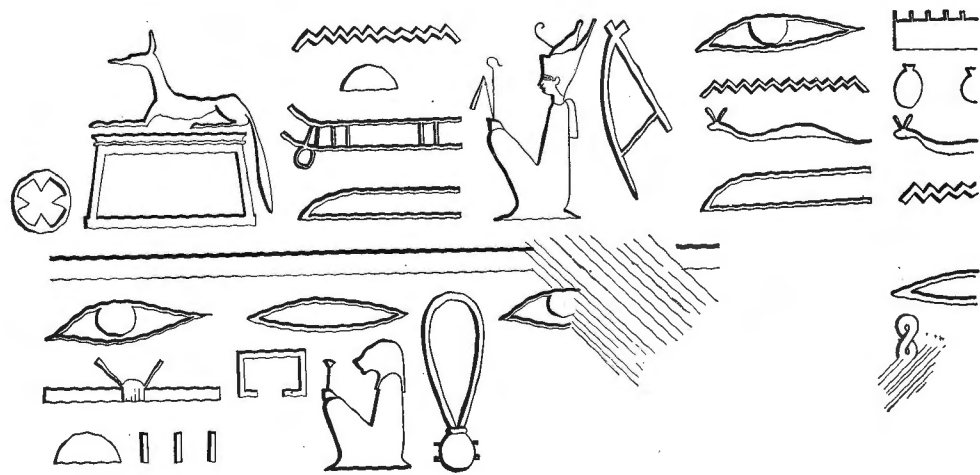
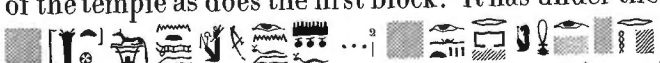



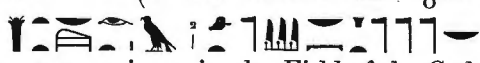
Fig. 22.

found a third block which had an inscription. This also speaks of the dedication of the temple as does the first block. It has under the *kheker*-frieze the inscription :  « ...beloved of (Bastet, mistress of) Bubastis, the one who is over the secrets of Atum, he (i. e. the king) made as his monument.. (2) ...what is made to the temple of Bastet as it is made... (fig. 22). In view of what is surviving on these three blocks it can be seen that there were two inscriptions of two lines, each beginning in the middle and running in opposite directions. These texts spoke of the dedication of the temple to Bastet. Not far from these blocks we found another with two vertical lines

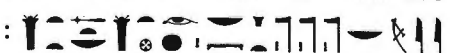
⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XLIV-C and D.

giving the names of the king (fig. 25). This block seems to have been standing between two doors since the two lines of inscription are looking outwards, apparently bordering separate ways.

THE WESTERN PART OF THE RUINS

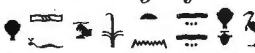
Naville discovered in the ruins of the temple parts of two red granite shrines, one of which was sent to the Cairo Museum and the other to the British Museum. The former consists of only the lower part of a shrine, showing the king twice kneeling and offering the symbol of truth. He is qualified on one side as being :  « Beloved of Edjō, mistress of Nebt residing in Bubastis, she gives all life »⁽¹⁾. The part in the British Museum is one side of a shrine on which the king is represented twice (in one instance his figure is missing) before Bastet who is called :  « Bastet, lady of the shrine, the eye of Horus, pre-eminent in the Field-of-the-God, lady of heaven, and mistress of all the gods »⁽²⁾. Above are some hawks stretching their wings in protection of the cartouches of the king, while underneath are three figures of the king supporting the sky studded with stars.

From what area of the site did these shrines come? Somewhat to the west of the blocks with the dedicatory inscriptions are blocks of red granite which are parts of shrines as can be judged from their form. These have very few signs on them and it cannot be said with certainty whether they belonged to the fragments just mentioned or to other shrines, but it is certain that the fragments in the Cairo and British Museum originally lay in the same place where these fragments are now lying. In the same place we also saw grey granite fragments of shrines (pl. XLIII C) which have a few hieroglyphs on them.

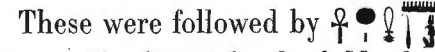
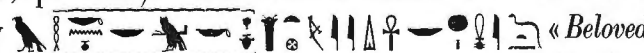
A third shrine also must once have been quite near these. It was found in Cairo reused in a modern building but, according to its inscriptions, it must have stood originally in the building of Nektanebos II at Bubastis. On the left side of the front the king is qualified as : 

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XLVII-H and ROEDER, *Naos*, (Gen. Cat. of the Cairo Museum, no. 70016) pl. 12.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-G; G, G_n and BUDGE, *Guide...* (*Sculpture* 1909), p. 248.

« Beloved of Bastet the great, lady of Bubastis, the eye of Re, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods », and on the right :  « Beloved of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands and who resides in Bubastis »⁽¹⁾.

To these three shrines can be added at least four more shrines, parts of which were found in other places. We shall speak in the next chapter about the places where they were discovered and shall show that they originally stood in the temple of Nektanebos II in Bubastis. In Bilbeis itself nine fragments were discovered by Naville in 1887, four more fragments were found by Edgar and a tenth fragment was found by us in 1942. Each of these fragments has a part of the inscription which is usually found on the sides of shrines. It is to be regretted that the present location of all the fragments found by Naville and Edgar is not known, nor is it known whether they are still hidden in or under one of the houses in the places where they were found or removed to other places. Under these circumstances it is only possible to determine the possible relations between the fragments according to the copies of the inscriptions and the directions in which they run, as shown by those who published them. Even on the basis of these facts it can be said that four fragments are upper parts of shrines, two represent middle parts and the remaining four fragments constitute lower parts of shrines. In fig. 23 we have made a reconstruction of the inscriptions which decorated these shrines. The reconstruction is not absolutely certain, but it is very probable, especially if we assume that the size of the shrines and their inscriptions was about the same in all cases, as is quite likely.

In this case one of the shrines must have had the Horus-name of the king followed by the prenomen and the nomen. These were followed by  « Living like Re, beloved of Monthu, great of strength, residing in Bubastis, given all life, stability, dominion and health like Re forever » (see below, p. 135). The second shrine had the same names of the king followed by  « Beloved of Hor (-hekenu, master of protection, residing) in Bubastis, given all life like Re forever » (see below, p. 128). The third shrine must have had the first three names of the king followed by the prenomen on one side and the nomen

⁽¹⁾ Now in the Cairo Museum, no. 70013, see ROEDER, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

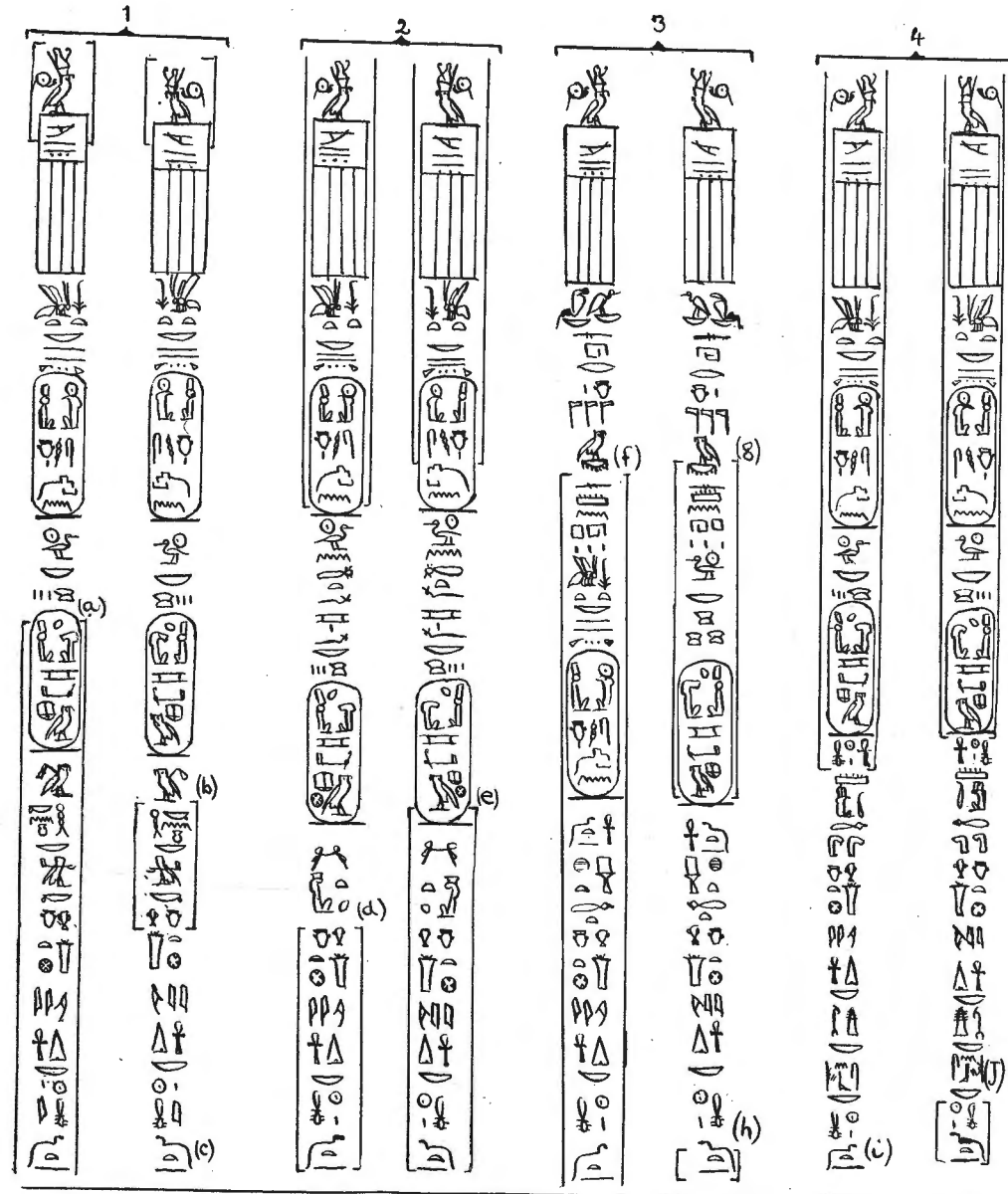
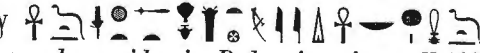



Fig. 23.

on the other. These were followed by  « Living forever, beloved of Sekhmet the great, who resides in Bubastis, given all life like Re forever » (see below, p. 126). The fourth had the Horus-name, the prenomen and the nomen followed by the name of the goddess 

Seshmetet (see below, p. 133), who was probably accompanied by an inscription similar to those accompanying the goddesses on the other fragments of shrines⁽¹⁾.

Thus there were in the building of Nektanebos II at Bubastis at least seven shrines. Kings of the XXXth dynasty are known to have been fond of erecting shrines⁽²⁾. They erected them everywhere, but in nowhere did they place so many as in Bubastis.

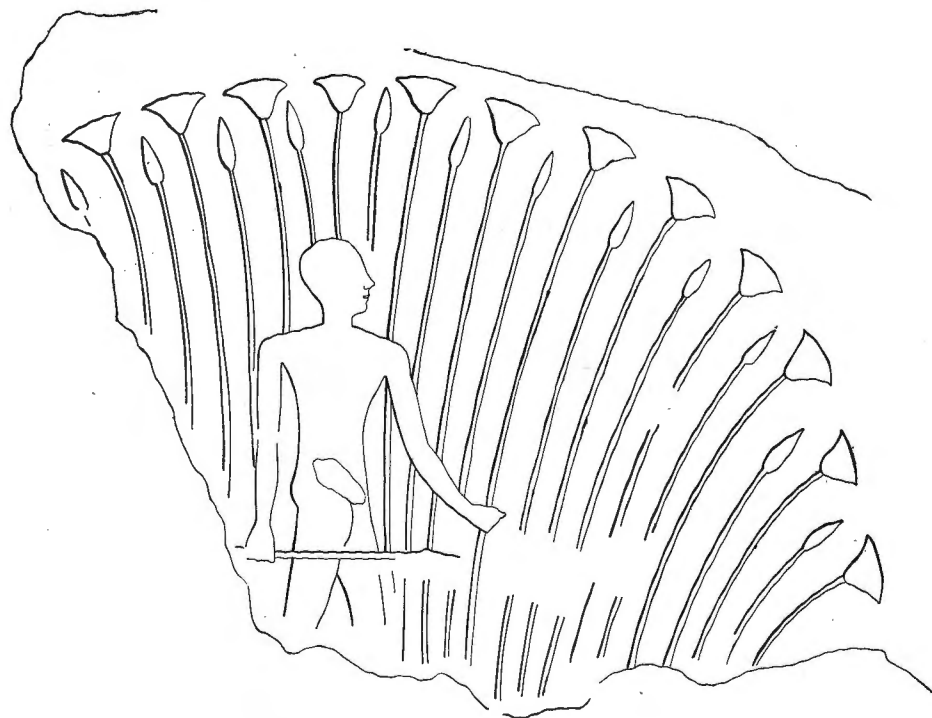


Fig. 24.

⁽¹⁾ We could have taken the blocks with the names of Sekhmet and Seshmetet to have been parts of one and the same shrine had it not been for the fact that the present portions of the inscriptions accompanying the names of the goddesses are not the same. Again it has to be remembered that whenever two divinities are to be found on the same shrine they are usually a god and a goddess.

⁽²⁾ Among the shrines of the Cairo Museum eleven were erected by these kings, *ibid.*, no. 70012-70022. There are still others in other museums and are still in their original places see *JNES*, XI (1952) pp. 259-260 and notes 30, 31.

Side by side with the parts of shrines found in Tell Basta, there are still to be seen among the ruins blocks with figures of divinities⁽¹⁾. Most of these blocks have already been published but two more are worth publishing. One has a naked youth possibly representing Horus. He is shown holding a spear in the middle of a marsh (fig. 24). The second block has two registers. The upper has the figure of a winged falcon-headed god, while the lower has a falcon-headed god with the goddess Mert who is usually present in scenes of festivals.

All these blocks were part of the walls west of the part with the dedicatory inscription. The sculptures are exactly of the same nature, for some of them have a horizontal line of inscription below which are registers divided into equal sections. Each section has a vertical line referring to a certain temple in Egypt and figures of deities connected with that temple. In others there is also a horizontal line of inscription at the top under which are registers with divine figures.

GENERAL NOTES

Naville took the building erected by Nektanebos II at Bubastis to be a hall without giving any reason for his theory. After examining the ruins, we were convinced that the building he erected was not a simple hall but rather a temple composed of many chambers. The ruins, which are more than fifty metres on a side, are much too large to be those of just a hall. Furthermore, a hall would have required many roof supports of which many fragments should have been met with in the ruins, in spite of the fact that supports were the sort of things usually carried away. If we remember, moreover, that at least seven shrines stood in the building and that shrines were usually placed in separate rooms, we are led again to the conclusion that the building could not have had the form of a hall, but should have been a temple with several rooms.

To give a general idea of the form of this temple we proceed to an examination of the blocks as they are now found lying in the ruins, bearing in mind that, since blocks are huge and heavy, they have not been removed very

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pls. XLVI and XLVIII.

far from the positions they occupied in the building when it collapsed or was first unearthed. As we have seen above, two lintels were found in the eastern part of the ruins. As they were found far from each other, it seems that there were two doorways on that side of the temple. Not very far from the lintels were lying blocks with uræi in high relief⁽¹⁾. Such blocks must have adorned the façade of the temple, giving it quite an impressive appearance. All the other sides were most probably decorated on the outside by a cornice engraved with the prenomen and the nomen of the king arranged alternately as can be guessed from blocks of that sort scattered along the edges.

Beyond the lintels but in front of the blocks with the dedicatory inscription were found many others showing the king performing ceremonies in the presence of various divinities. In this part of the temple there may have been a hypostyle hall or perhaps rather an open court with columns on the north, south and east sides. The reason for assuming this is that we have only very few fragments of columns or of roofing blocks with the star decoration, and these few may well be the remains of the sides and front colonnades. The side walls of this court were divided into registers of scenes showing the king before the various deities of Bubastis. The rear or west wall of this court was decorated at the top with a tall *khoker*-frieze under which were two lines of large hieroglyphs referring to the dedication of the temple. Beyond this wall were picked up several fragments from the seven or more shrines which must have stood there. Since each of these must have had its own separate room or sanctuary, we know there were originally at least seven rooms to the west of the court. How these rooms were arranged it is difficult to judge. We do not know whether they were built just beyond the rear wall of the court or hall, as is the case in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos or whether there was a sanctuary in the middle with a corridor all around it and other sanctuaries outside the corridor as is the case at Edfu and Denderah. In either case, the sanctuary of Bastet, the chief goddess of the place, would have been in the middle while the six or more other sanctuaries dedicated to lesser divinities were placed all around it or on

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 56.

either side. We have seen above that the blocks with the figures of various deities were found in this area. These blocks must have decorated the walls of some of the sanctuaries. It is a pity that only a few fragments of these have survived, for many among them contained texts enumerating the temples of Egypt and their divinities. Between the sanctuaries were door jambs having two vertical lines back to back with the prenomen and the nomen of the king, as can be concluded from the block which we found (fig. 25).

With the court or hall and the sanctuaries one might have expected the temple to be complete, but there must have also been some other element or elements built of quartzite and limestone. As we noted above, thousands of chips of these materials were scattered all over the ruins and blocks of the same materials removed from Bubastis in antiquity were found elsewhere. The reliefs on these blocks for the most part show the king before various deities but one in quartzite bears the representation of one of the nomes of Egypt (see below p. 138). This latter block would seem to indicate that perhaps there was a wall in quartzite at the entrance where most of the chips and blocks are to be found.

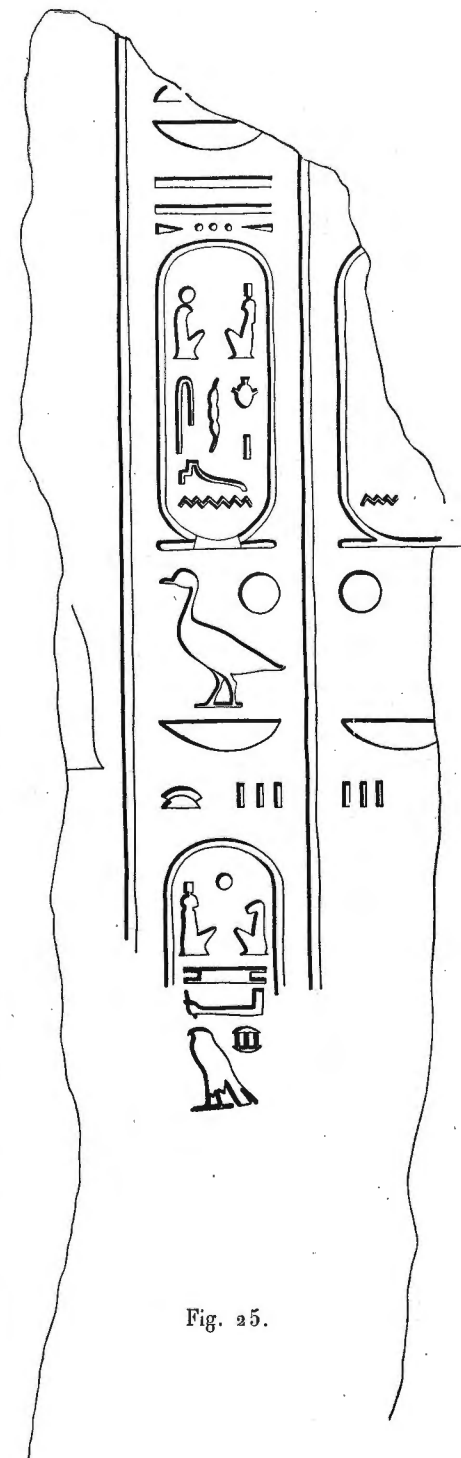


Fig. 25.

There remains to be mentioned only some huge blocks of dolerite now lying at the west and north-west ends of the ruins. These may have been used as a pavement in the sanctuaries and other parts of the building. This kind of stone was preferred for floors as we know from many of the funerary temples of the Old Kingdom⁽¹⁾.

Such is our conception of the building and its decoration. It would appear to have been a rather small temple in contrast to the temples of the XVIIIth to XXth dynasties. But these latter are more than seven centuries earlier, and there has not survived from the intervening period a sufficient number of structures to permit us to follow the evolution of the temple from the beginning of the Empire to the end of the Pharaonic period.

Study of the texts and reliefs shows that the goddess Bastet occupied a special position in the Temple of Nektanebos II. Her name is often mentioned, she is represented frequently being adored by the king, and one shrine at least was erected for her. But other divinities were also worshipped there with her such as Sekhmet, Edjō, Seshmetet, Hor-ḥekenu, Monthu, Mihos, Atum and Harsaphes.

The name of Bubastis is found often in the inscriptions. It is almost always in the form 𓆎 , but three times it is found spelled out $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ ⁽²⁾. The name of the *Ww* or territory of the Bubastite nome $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, the *Field-of-the-God*, is also found three times in the inscriptions⁽³⁾.

The names of the two great sanctuaries $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ occur often in the inscriptions. The first one, *Pr-ns(r)t* is met with in connection with Edjō in the inscription from the ceiling (p. 75) and on the block from the entrance (p. 76). It is found once with Bastet who is qualified as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, *mistress of Pr-ns(r)t*. In all cases it is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ or $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. In the variations cited by Gauthier⁽⁴⁾ it is often written with *r*, for example $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$. It is found in parallelism with the other sanctuary also consecrated to Edjō called $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ *Pr-nw*. Both have been regarded as names of the same predynastic national shrine of

⁽¹⁾ LUCAS, *Materials and Industries in Ancient Egypt*³, pp. 77-8.

⁽²⁾ See below, p. 121.

⁽³⁾ See below, p. 121.

⁽⁴⁾ *Dict. géogr.*, II, 98.

Lower Egypt at Buto⁽¹⁾, but their presence together in the inscription from the ceiling following Edjō seems to suggest that they are two different shrines. Is it possible that Edjō, being worshipped at Kom Far'ōn (Tell Nebesḥa) in the western Delta and at Kom Fara'in (Buto) on eastern Delta, had two shrines with these names? This is not certain but it sounds more logical than the belief now generally held that they are two names of one and the same shrine in Buto.

The name of another shrine called $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ *Ntrt*, is also met with in the inscriptions of the temple. It is considered to be the Serapeum of the nome which was also the shrine in the temple of Bubastis containing one of the feet of Osiris⁽²⁾. According to Naville «*The shrine*» $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, containing the very precious relic was afterwards placed by Nekhthorheb in the hall which he added to the temple⁽³⁾. He gave no proof of this statement nor can we find any proof in the inscriptions to justify his theory. Of the two texts where the name of this shrine occurs, one has already been mentioned (p. 80), and the other reads $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, «*Isis within Ntr(t)*»⁽⁴⁾. These texts just indicate that Bastet was identified with Tefnut, mother of Isis, both goddesses were lion-headed.

Naville found in the ruins of this temple two reused blocks, one dating to Amenemhēt I (above, p. 39) and the other to the time of Amenophis II (below p. 111). To these we may add a third which may be also dated to the latter king (Pl. XXIII-C, fig. 26). It has part of a big scene in which Bastet (not present in the surviving portion) is called: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, «*Bastet, mistress of Bubastis*». She extends her arm with the *onh*-sign to a falcon standing on the *srh*-name of the king. The act is referred to thus: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, «*I give to thee all life (and dominion)*». Above the falcon is the sun-disk from which hangs the uræus with the sign of life, while under him is the inscription $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ «*The mighty-Bull-Great-of-Strength, the good god...*». In the next

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 90; GARDINER, *Eg. Gram.*, Sign-List O20; cf. GARDINER, *The Coronation of King Haremhab*, *J. E. A.*, 39, 25.

⁽²⁾ DE ROUGÉ, *La géographie de la Basse-Egypte*, p. 123.

⁽³⁾ *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis*, p. 10.

⁽⁴⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XLV-H.

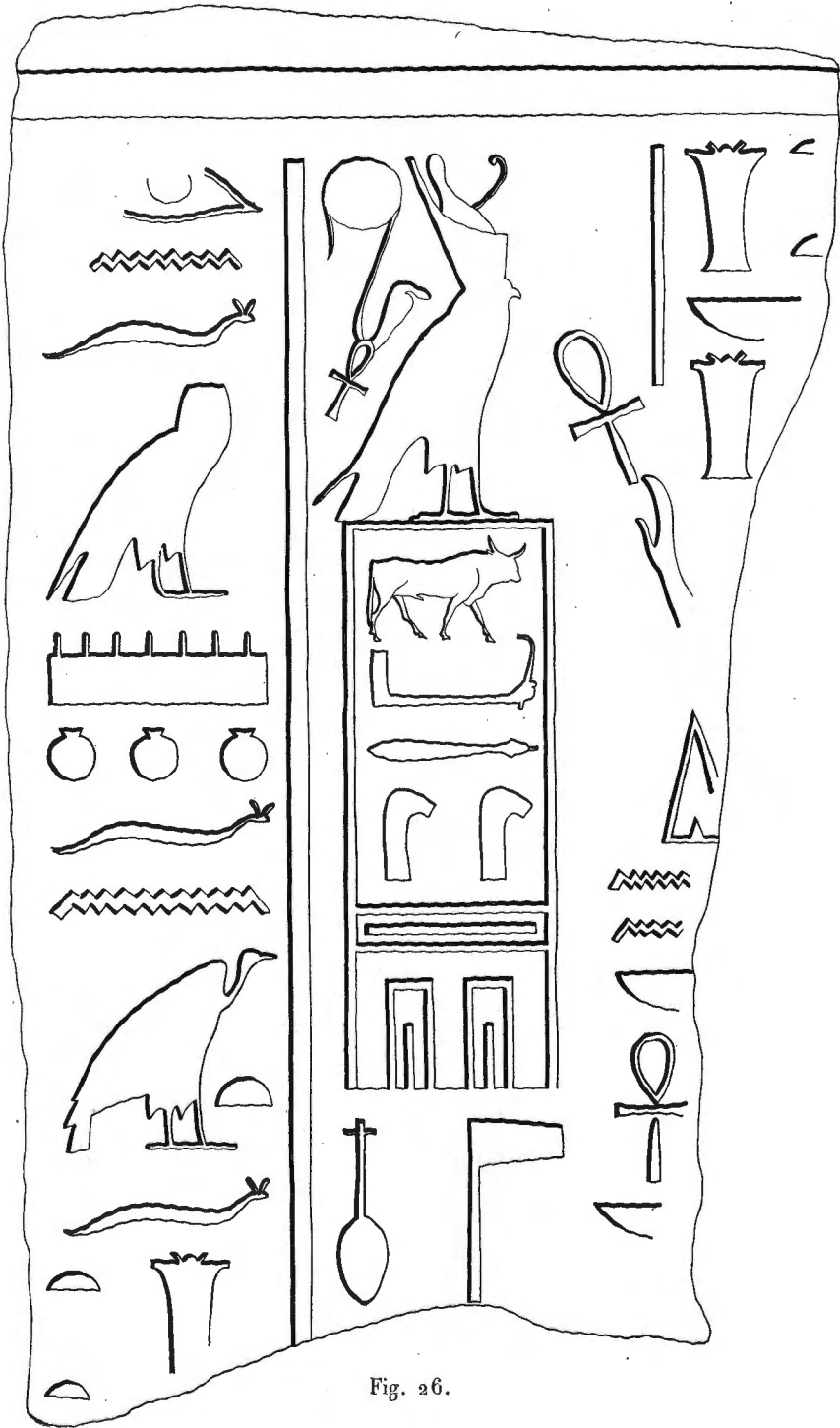




Fig. 26.

line we read : , «He made as his monument for his mother Bastet...». The king whose name is inscribed on this block is Amenophis II, his Horus-name occurs sometimes as it is seen here, though more often it is :  (1). This block shows clearly that he too erected in Bubastis a building dedicated to its chief deity.

Before ending this chapter it may be appropriate to ask why Nektanebos II should have favoured Bubastis so much as to build there a fairly large temple, although he did not build anything similar even in Samannûd which he chose as his capital (2). This king seems to have had a great devotion to the goddess Bastet, for he adopted in his cartouche the epithet 'Son of Bastet' instead of 'Son of Isis'. May we assume that in addition to this he aimed in erecting this building to strengthen his position in Bubastis and the eastern Delta where there was a certain danger of invasion during his reign? This cannot be proved but it seems to be quite probable.

(1) GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, t. II, p. 277 (III).

(2) For the monuments he left in that town see PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 43-44.

CHAPTER VII

WORK OUTSIDE THE TEMPLES

After clearing a large part of the Temple of Pepi I both during and after our study of the different parts of the Great Temple, we were led, for one reason or another, to dig at various places in the ruins outside the temples. Thus we worked in the area around the Great Temple, in the high mound about 200 ms north of this temple, and at a place nearly 160 ms south of the Pepi Temple. The result was the discovery of many important documents which will aid us one day in giving a history of Bubastis. Here, however, we shall confine ourselves to an account of our work and its results.

CLEARANCE AROUND THE GREAT TEMPLE

In July 1943 we began an examination of the area around the temple to see if it contained anything of importance. Although only a few soundings were made, some interesting objects and buildings were brought to light. On the north side part of a dyad of the same type as the Hyksos sphinxes and some fragments of frescoes were discovered, but these we shall publish later. To the east part of a building of a late period containing interesting objects was cleared and to the south three statues were discovered.

The late building unearthed to the east seems to have been used as a temple in the Roman period. As can be seen in the view reproduced of this building (Pl. XXIV), it is formed of a large open space about 25 ms by 15 ms with baked bricks, but only a part of the pavement was still existing. On the western side of the paved area are parts of a small column of red granite lying on the ground. On the east side of it is a huge pedestal made of big blocks of limestone. On clearing the pavement we picked up many an

object of the Græco-Roman period⁽¹⁾, among them some coins of the period and an ear-ring (pl. XXV-A) and amulet, both of gold. This last object bore the figures of two persons perhaps saints with the inscription: «Good Luck» (pl. XXV-B). Many pieces of pottery were also met with from time to time, such as vases, figurines of dragons and bearded men (pl. XXV-C). The biggest block found in this place was the head of a cobra in granite. Was there a big statue of this cobra standing on a pedestal? If so the temple might have been erected for Agathodaemon.

STATUE OF HURKHU (pl. XXVI-A, B).

On the south of the temple there were found three statues, each of which has a particular importance.

The first is the upper part of limestone statue now 40 cm. high, 21 cm. wide and 17 cm. thick. (Temporary no. 22-10-48-14).

It is of a kneeling man with his hands flat on his knees, wearing a wig and an apron with an inscribed belt. The dorsal pillar has two columns of inscriptions. These read: «*The one who belongs to his local deity, the prince and governor, the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the beloved unique friend of his Lord, Hurkhu, the blessed... (2) This is the pillar which his feet.....*»

On the belt is a line reading: «*The acquaintance of the king, his beloved Hurkhu, son of Panrudsa (?)*». On the right shoulder is the cartouche of Psammetikhos and on the left the prenomen of the first of the kings who adopted that name. Apart from the fact that the part below the knees is lost and small areas of the face and the dorsal pillar are somewhat damaged, the statue is in a good state of preservation. As is the case with most Saitic statues, the workmanship is rather good. Many a monument from that period have been found in the ruins showing that the place was flourishing then⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Naville said that he found at the entrance of the Festival Hall the base of a Ptolemaic statue and a part a Roman one. He also purchased from a fellah a part of another statue of the last period (*Bubastis*, p. 59). In the ruins there was also found a stela (*Cairo Cat. gén.* 22000) naming four kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, but perhaps dating to the time of Hadrian (*KAMAL, Stèles Ptol. et Rom.*, pl. LXX, pp. 195-6).

⁽²⁾ On many occasions stelae and statues of this period have been found in the ruins. Naville found himself part of a group statue of a certain Neferibra-onkh, another group statue of a man

STATUE OF AN UNKNOWN MAN HOLDING A NAOS (pl. XXVII-A, B).

This is the middle part of a statue in grey granite which is 35 cm. high and 48 cm. wide (J. E. 88636). It is of a man kneeling and holding a naos containing in high relief the figure of a lion-headed goddess who is undoubtedly standing for Bastet. Not much is left of the statue of the man, but of the figure of the goddess we have enough to show that the statue was carefully carved. The man wore a pleated garment covering the lower part of his body. On the dorsal pillar is the middle of an inscription which reads: «*... the prince and governor, the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the unique friend, the one who makes the way⁽¹⁾ for the Lord of the Two Lands... (2)... (health) (?) in every good thing which (lit. of) the king gives, sacrificing an antelope⁽²⁾.....*».

On the front of the naos there are two inscriptions beginning in the middle of the top and running in opposite directions. On the spectator's right we read: «*May the king give offerings to the gods of Bubastis that they may give offerings and food, everything which goes forth on the offering table in the third time of her receptacle (?) to the ka of the favoured of the gods (of Bubastis).....*»

On the left is seen: «*May the king give offerings to Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, that she may give offerings, everything which heaven gives, which earth creates and which Hapi brings from his cave (namely) to the ka of the honoured of Bastet.....*»

This was a lifesize statue of a man who was perhaps a governor of Bubastis itself in the XIXth dynasty. Such a statue, if it had reached us complete, would have given us some information about Bubastis and a man responsible for its control in one of its flourishing periods.

DYAD OF KHAEMWESE AND HIS WIFE KHEBUNUNES (pls. XXVIII, XXIX-A, B).

This is the lower part of a statue in grey granite 49 cm. high and 51 cm. wide (Cairo Mus. 87085).

and his wife, whose name was *Tahenwt3wy* and a small fragment of a statue (*Bubastis*, pp. 55-56). Other objects of the same date must also have come from the ruins. For these see PORTER and MOSS, *Bibliography*, IV, 32 ff.

⁽¹⁾ *Mtn*, meaning the way.

⁽²⁾ I owe this reading to M. Drioton, the lion to be read as *m3* and the knife as *hd* from *ht*.

This dyad shows a man with his wife on his right, each wearing a long pleated garment. The upper part is missing and the back is badly worn away, perhaps because the statue was used as the threshold of a door. The workmanship is only fair otherwise, and the signs in the inscriptions are beautifully carved. These can be seen on the front of the garment of each statue, and on the sides of the throne. Thus we have on the garment of the man this text : « *All that goes forth on the offering table of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, to the ka of the chief of the archers, the overseer of the foreign countries, and the petitioner in the First Jubilee of His Majesty, Khaemwese, the blessed* ». On the man's side of the throne there is an inscription of eight lines reading : « *May the king give offerings (to) Horakhti-Atum-Praised-in-Truth and the Ennead residing in Bubastis that they may cause (2) to be on earth in the praises of the king, the heart satisfied with all good things (3) and to receive food-offerings coming forth on the offering table of the Master of Things (?), that he may be called (4) into the presence of the justified who are in front of Onnophris, that he may be at the front (5), in the Sacred Place, causing him to ascend to the respectful staircase (namely) to the ka of (6) the governor and prince, the great courtier of the courtiers, the beloved of his master everyday, the excellent man of character, righteous of heart (7), well-disposed, cool of passion, void of falsehood, the one whom the king promotes while still a child (and) till the end of (8) old age, with his (i.e. the king's) praises established, the chief of the archers, the overseer of the northern foreign lands, and the petitioner in the First jubilee, Khaemwese* ».

On the front of the garment of the wife we see : « *All that goes forth on the offering table of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis in the duration of everyday to the ka of the mistress of the house, the chantress of Sekhmet and the lady of the Harim of Bastet, lady of Bubastis, Khebununes, the blessed* ».

On the wife's side of the throne is an inscription also of eight lines. This reads : « *May the king give offerings to Sekhmet, Bastet, Edjō and Seshmetet residing in Bubastis that they may give a good duration of life which (lit. of) (2) their kas order, happiness, joy and exaltation, going in and out (3) of their temples, the limbs pure and her praises established after (4) she receives the offerings which they give and after making praises (5), seeing her beauties and being pleased with their kas every day without ceasing (6) that (her) beauties be remembered in their temples,*

being stable in the mouths of her serfs, (7) ending this with a good burial and to be buried after becoming honoured (8), to the ka of the mistress of the house, the chantress of Sekhmet and the songstress of Bastet, Khebununes, the blessed ». This is an important statue which can be dated to the time of Amenophis III as we shall see at the end of this chapter and it gives us a list of deities worshipped in Bubastis during the reign of that king.

CEMETERY OF THE NOBLES OF BUBASTIS

When it was found that the whole area around the Great Temple could not be completely investigated, we thought it worthwhile to work in the high mound nearly 200 ms to the north. Near this place there was found in 1925 the tomb of Hori II, son of Hori I, the viceroy of Kush who lived during the reigns of Ramesses III-IV and who was originally from Bubastis⁽¹⁾. In many places in this mound were visible many walls, some of sun-dried bricks and others of baked bricks.

We began working in the southeast corner of the mound on April 24, 1944 and were able to work for about two months. On the surface of the mound nothing was found except for some objects of late periods such as the handle of an amphora with the name *Apoloni*, a bronze spear and some vases. There were also found two necklaces and some pieces of faience, usually in the form of amulets (pl. XXV-D). When we dug deep to about 4 ms we reached some chambers with a pavement. These proved to be a plundered family tomb in the form of a long corridor with three chambers on each side (pl. XXX).

The whole building was paved with baked bricks arranged in a symmetrical pattern. The walls, 90 cm. thick, were built of baked bricks to a height of 80 cm.⁽²⁾ but the rest of the walls and what was left of the roofs, mostly

⁽¹⁾ GAUTHIER, « Un vice-roi d'Éthiopie enseveli à Bubastis », in *Ann. du Serv.*, XXVIII, pp. 129-133 and plates hereto.

⁽²⁾ Few are the buildings of baked bricks and dating to the Ramesside period. The tomb of Hori II found in 1925 and published by Gauthier has also the pavement and part of the walls in this material, see *ibid.*, p. 129.

vaulted, were all of sun-dried bricks (fig. 27). At the south side of the southeast corner chamber (Room C on the plan) there is a red granite sarcophagus with the head to the east. Unluckily it was broken and contained nothing at all, nor was there anything else around it, except for some thin leaves of gold. This chamber has two doors, one opening to the west into the corridor, and the second opening to the south to the outside of the building. The adjacent chamber (Room B) was found to contain nothing at all to show what it was used for. It seems quite probable that it was not used as a burial place, but rather as a storeroom, since no trace of a sarcophagus was found in it. Room A, on the contrary, contained a sarcophagus made this time of limestone. It is anthropoid, with the *sa*-sign in one hand and a *dd*-sign in the other. There was a big hole in one wall of sufficient size to admit a man and the lid of the sarcophagus was found broken. Nothing else except some gold leaves and some beads were found in the chamber.

The corridor between the two rows of chambers is 7.50 ms long and 2.20 ms wide. In this corridor the following object was found.

SPHINX OF AMENOPHIS III (pls. XXXI-XXXII).

This is in limestone 26 cm. high, 11 cm. wide and 45 cm. long (Cairo Museum J. E. no. 88634).

Although weathered in a few places it is on the whole in a good state of preservation. As usual it shows the king with the body of a lion, wearing an artificial beard and a *nemes*-headdress with an uræus. It has inscriptions on the chest and on the sides of the pedestal, all of which seem to have been coloured blue.

On the chest directly under the beard we read in a vertical line : « *Amen-hotep-Ruler-of-Thebes, given life* ». On the front of the pedestal there is a vertical line reading : « *Nebmare, beloved of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis* ». On the sides of the pedestal are to be found two inscriptions, each enumerates the five names of the king and ends with the words « *given life* ». The one to the (spectator's) left reads : « *May live the Horus, 'The-Strong-Bull-Appearing-in-Truth', the Two Mistresses, 'Establisher-of Laws, who-Subdues-the-Two-lands', The Golden Horus, 'Great-of-Power, Conquerer-of-Asiatics', the king of Upper and Lower Egypt : 'Nebmare'...* » After that may have followed the nomen of the

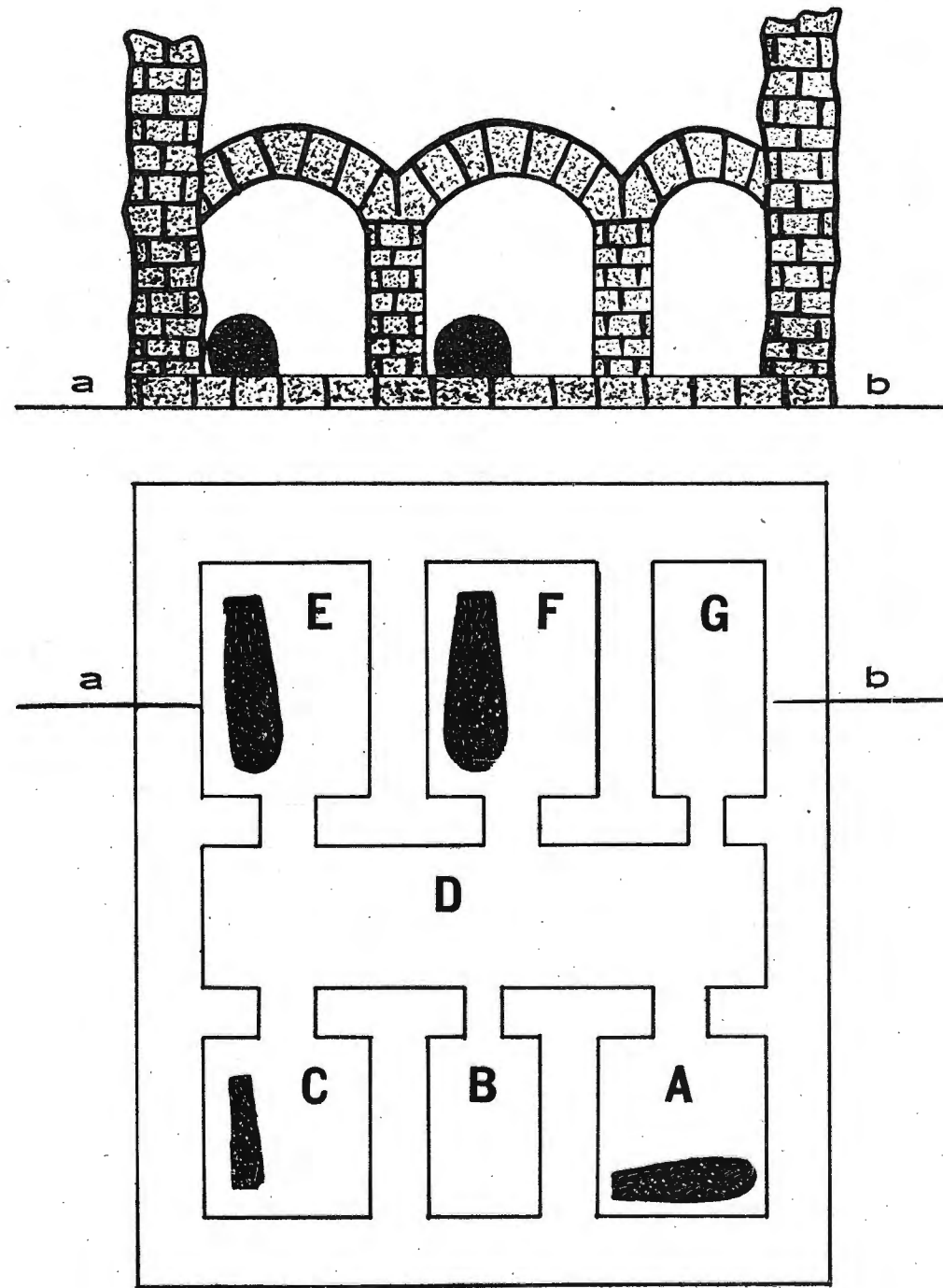


Fig. 27.

king and the words : « Beloved of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis », as we have on the front of the pedestal. On the other side there are but few signs giving the Horus name and a part of the *Nebti*-name. These were perhaps followed by the prenomen and the nomen of the king and the words « *given life* ».

To return to the description of the tomb, we take up the three chambers on the other side of the corridor. The southwest corner Chamber (Room E) and the one next to it (Room F) were used for burials while the third (Room G), found empty, was perhaps used as storeroom as the middle chamber on the other side of the corridor. In Room E, we found an anthropoid sarcophagus with one hand holding the *sa*-sign the other the *dd*-sign. The lid was broken and the tomb had been disturbed (pl. XXXIII). Luckily enough was left by the robbers to furnish us with the identity of the owner of the tomb. In the south wall, at about 1.20 m. above the pavement of the chamber, there was found a pottery box with four compartments, one compartment contained a small vase, while the others contained ushabtis (pls. XXV-E and XXXIV). More ushabtis were picked up near to the walls of the chamber and a big pot, cylindrical in shape, was found inserted in a niche in the south wall. This pot measures 57 cm. tall, and about 25 cm. in diameter.

The next room (F on the plan) contained an anthropoid red granite sarcophagus also broken, showing that the burial had been plundered (pl. XXXV). Here luckily again we found something which gave us the name of one of the owners of the tomb, perhaps the chief member of the family for whom the tomb was made. Along the north wall was found a group of ushabtis lying on the ground in disorder (see pl. XXXVI), one of these is in quartz and 10 cm. high (Cairo Museum no. 88615). Two larger ones, each about 29 cm. tall, in alabaster (Cairo Museum no. 86811-A, B) and three smaller ones of the same material are each about 17 cm. tall (Cairo Museum no. 86812 A, B, C), see pl. XXXVII-A. Nine others about 11 cm. in height (88615-88624) are of faience (Cairo Museum 88615), see pl. XXXVII-B.

On many of these ushabtis the following inscription can be seen : « *The utterance of the Osiris, the royal son of Kush, Hori* », and on others : « *May illuminate the Osiris, the viceroy of Kush, (the royal scribe), Hori* ». There were two royal sons of Kush by this name, a son who lived under Ramesses III-IV and his father who served Setnakht-Ramesses III. As we have seen above, the tomb

of the former had already been found at Tell Basta and we must, therefore, consider the elder Hori to be the father of the family buried in this tomb. In many places in Aswân and Nubia the members of this family left inscriptions, in most of which they are shown in the presence of Bastet, the main divinity of Bubastis. It is sure that the family was originally from this town⁽¹⁾.

In the chamber next to that in which he was buried (Room E) some ushabtis of *the chantress of Mehyt, Khayit* (Pl. XXXVII-C) who might have been the wife of Hori I were found. It is very probable that the other two tombs may have been used for the burial of the first charioteer of his Majesty, Ubekhsenu son of Hori I and his wife. That man was shown often with his father or near to him in some graffiti.

Near this tomb, there was to be seen many a wall of baked bricks like those of which the family tomb of Hori was built. It is almost certain that there will be found in the same place still other tombs perhaps of the Ramesside period and later. Thus we have in the high mound to the north of the Great Temple the cemetery of the nobles of Bubastis. This is assured by many amulets in faience which we picked up during and after our discovery of the tomb of Hori. Another proof lies in discovery of a funerary stela near the tomb of Hori. This is of limestone, 40 cm. high and 27 cm. wide (Pl. XXXVIII-A). It has a triangular top, in which is shown a jackal sitting on a pedestal. The animal grasps a *kherep*-sceptre with the forelegs and has a flagellum on its back. Above it is the sign of eternity. Below is a woman with a long wide garment raising her right hand in adoration, and shaking the sistrum with the other. She is followed by a man, also lifting his hands in adoration.

Opposite is a lotus-flower with the four sons of Horus above, and Osiris sitting on a throne wearing the *atef*-crown and holding in one hand the *heka* and in the other the *nkh*-symbol. Behind him stands Isis with the

⁽¹⁾ On the sarcophagus of Hori II the name is followed many times by the word « Bubastis » and as he and his son were buried in that town and were shown many times in the presence of its main divinity, we believe that it is certain that they were originally from there. It is noteworthy that a statue of « The royal son of Kush, the chief of the southern foreign lands, the bearer (of the fan on the right of the king) » was discovered in the ruins of the Great Temple by Naville (*Bubastis*, 45, pl. XXXVI-N). Such titles comport well with those of Hori II. We shall speak of these two viceroys in an article to appear shortly.

hieroglyph for her name on her head. She has her right hand lifted while with the other hand she is holding an object, perhaps a situla. Each of the four figures here shown is accompanied by an inscription. The one with the woman reads : « *The chantress of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, (2) Tamer(t), (3) the blessed* ». That of the man says : « *The son of her son (2) the w^b-priest of Sekhmet, the divine father of (3) Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, (4) Tuthmose, the blessed* ».

The god is described as : « *Osiris, the pre-eminent of (2) the West, master of the Sacred (Land)* », while behind the goddess is seen : « *Isis the Great, the mother of the god, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods* ».

Three lines are inscribed beneath the scene. These read : « *May the king give offerings (to) Osiris, (of) Atef-wer⁽¹⁾, the pre-eminent of the West, lord of Abydos, that he may give bread, (2) breeze, libation water, incense, all that goes forth on his offering table to the ka of the chantress of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, Tamert, the blessed, (3) the daughter of Urenura and (to the ka) of the son of her son, the priest of Sekhmet, Tuthmose, the blessed...* ».

It is hoped, in view of such finds, that this part of the ruins of Bubastis will be systematically excavated in the very near future.

REMAINS OF A TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III

In 1948 plans were made to erect in El-Zaqâziq a hospital for the tuberculosis. A piece of land about 150 ms to the south of Pepi I Temple and close to the road passing through the ruins was then chosen for that purpose (see plan of the ruins). Although the land was lying in private property, it was certain that it once was a part of the ancient city. It was not possible to stop the work of digging for the foundations of the hospital, which was somewhat advanced when it was first reported to us. But we did succeed in having the work done under our supervision. The result was the discovery of two objects and the unearthing of some more or less destroyed walls of sun-dried bricks which seemed to have been the remains of a small chapel. To judge from the objects unearthed, this chapel must have been erected by Amenophis III from whose

⁽¹⁾ For this place-name and its connection with Osiris and existence in the nome of Heliopolis, see GAUTHIER, *Dict. géog.*, I, p. 13, III, 143 and VI, 139^s and DE ROUGÉ, *Géog. an. de la B. E.*, p. 83. According to Gauthier, it was between Heliopolis and Old Cairo.

reign had come other monuments sometime before in the ruins. We proposed then that the building of the hospital be stopped until we could examine the whole area. The proposal was rejected because it was feared that such an examination would spoil the pits already dug for the foundation and because the building of a hospital of such importance to the inhabitants could not be stopped just to see whether the site might or might not contain any antiquities. It is true that it was not expected that much would be found, but owing to the rarity of monuments of the XVIIIth dynasty in the Delta, it was thought worthwhile to delay a project of such importance to see whether the site contained more objects and to make a plan of any possible buildings before they were lost forever.

Now that no more work can be done in this area, the hospital having been built soon afterwards, we must depend upon the few traces of buildings and the scanty objects discovered to decide what was there. To judge from these, there stood here a chapel which must have been a small and simple one, perhaps consisting of a single hall of sun-dried bricks. The supports were possibly of wood or limestone, but no traces of them were found. The doorway, on the other hand, was undoubtedly of limestone. A part of this doorway was found not far from a sun-dried brick wall. Near part of another wall was found a dyad of the reign of Amenophis III. We have, in describing the contents of the family tomb of Hori, already discussed the sphinx of the king himself. If we add to these objects the three statues discovered by Naville reused in the Great Temple we realize that in Bubastis no other reign is so well represented by monuments of the king and his officials. It is not strange, therefore, that a chapel should be found for that king in Bubastis. There follows a more detailed description of the doorway and the dyad.

THE DOORWAY OF AMENOPHIS III (pl. XXXVIII-B)

On this doorway we have only the section of the jamb to (the spectator's) left. It is of limestone 37 cm. high, 16 cm. wide and 9 cm. thick. It has between two vertical lines 9 cm. apart the following inscription : « 'Neb-ma(re)', Son of Rê, 'Amenhotep-Ruler-of-Thebes' ».

Although the surviving part of this doorway does not bear the name of either Bubastis or its chief deity, it is quite likely that both followed the

cartouches of the king, for on most of the objects found in the ruins and dating back to this king or his officials we have the mention of the goddess and sometimes the name of the town. It is not certain that the place where this part of doorway was found is exactly the place where the doorway originally stood, but it must not have been very far away.

THE DYAD OF *KHAEMWESE* AND HIS WIFE *MENENA* (Pl. XXXIX, XL, XLI-A)

This is of steatite 27.3 cm. high and 13.2 cm. broad including the pedestal which is of limestone. (Now in the Cairo Museum J. E. no. 87911).

The pair consists of a man with his wife to his left. Both figures stand on a pedestal and are supported at the back by two slabs in the form of stelae joined together which reach up to the middle of the head of each figure. Since the figure of wife is shorter than that of her husband, the stela behind her is also shorter. The face of the man is the only part of the dyad which is mutilated and it is quite improbable, therefore, that this was done intentionally but was accidental. On the man's head is a wig with curling tresses coming down to the shoulders. The arms hang down beside the body. The right hand is open while the left holds the so-called handkerchief. On the upper part of the body there is a short sleeves shirt with a small opening at the neckline. The lower part of the body is covered with a long pleated garment held at the waist by a belt of a pleated cloth tied at the front and from the front of the belt hangs down a kind of sash ending in fine embroidery.

The statue of the wife is in a perfect state of preservation. She is shown wearing a long wig reaching to the chest. The details of this wig are worthy of description. From the top of the head curling tresses come down in all directions to be interrupted first by a row of lotus flowers then by a strip of cloth entwined with hair and ending with vertically hanging tresses. She wears three necklaces formed of several strands and ending with pendants, while two rosettes decorate the bosom. The lady wears a long tight-fitting garment showing the beauty of the body. The garment leaves almost the whole right arm naked, but it covers the other arm and the folds of cloth indicate that it was wrapped around the arm several times. The right arm hangs beside the body and the hand holds the handkerchief while the left

arm is bent so that the hand reaches a little below the right breast to finger the *Menat*-necklace.

All these details of the wife's body and dress are rendered with great care, but it is in the face that one feels the artistry of the sculptor in showing the beauty of the features. This statue reminds us of that of the Lady Nar in the Louvre and of certain statues in the Cairo Museum. These statues are similar in the graceful form and the high standard of workmanship. Our dyad, like the statue in the Louvre and most of those in Cairo, dates to the reign of Amenophis III⁽¹⁾, as can be assured by two cartouches seen on the shoulder and the chest of man. Behind him are three vertical lines reading : «*May the king give offerings (to) Renutet, mistress of the good provision and (to) the good servant of this house, that they may give substances, food and provisions, offerings and game (2) every day, a granary flourishing in the duration of the day, this House being in festival without cessation, anointed with myrrh, binding linen and making a happy day (3) (namely) to the ka of the prince and governor, the praised and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands, the really silent, the cool of anger, the master of graciousness, of lucky hours, the chief of the archers, the lord of all the northern foreign lands, Khaemwese, the blessed*».

Behind the wife is the inscription : «*May the king give offerings (to) Sekhmet the great, the beloved of Ptah, that she may give a good period of life, void of mischief, (with) pleasure, joy and exaltation united with the praises which (lit. of) (2) her ka orders, recreation of heart in singing and dancing, a beautiful life united with health and pleasure, (3) joined together with love, going in and out of her Temple, the heart satisfied with all the good (things), to the ka of the mistress of the house, the chantress of Bastet, Menena, the blessed*».

Between the feet of the pair on the top of the pedestal is an inscription read : «*A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and birds, a thousand of cloth and vases, a thousand of incense and ointment to your kas, may they be purified twice*».

With the door jamb and this dyad just discussed, the objects inscribed with the name of Amenophis III and his officials number eight in all. We have described earlier the sphinx of that king and the dyad of Khaemwese and his wife Khebununes. That Khaemwese was «the chief of the archers,

⁽¹⁾ Cf. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *Le style égyptien*, pl. XLII, p. 138.

the overseer of the northern foreign lands and the petitioner in the First Jubilee of his Majesty». Thus he bore the same titles as did the Khaemwese of the second dyad shown with his wife Menena, with only the addition of a title showing him to have been present at the First Jubilee of the king as a petitioner, perhaps one who asks favours from the king or reported complaints to him on that great occasion. It is very likely then that the former statue represents the same man as does the latter one⁽¹⁾ but perhaps it was made sometime later during or after the celebration of the jubilee and when he had another wife.

Naville found in the ruins of the Great Temple parts of three statues and a dyad. Only the head of the latter was found with a part of the back on which the inscription tells of a man whom the king promoted to the post of governor but whose name is not known to us. One of the three other pieces consists only of the base with the feet of a man. Luckily the surviving inscription informs us of the name of the owner. He is the well-known «royal scribe and steward, Kheruef», whose tomb is one of the wonders of the Theban Necropolis (N° 192).

The two remaining statues are of particular importance in spite of the fact that the upper part is missing. They represent one and the same person who was «*the prince and governor, the chief of the town and the vizier, Amenhotep*». One of these statues gives the religious titles of the owner while on the other one there is an inscription more concerned with his civil titles. In the latter he is called «*the prince and governor, the great courtier beloved of his lord, the overseer of all the works of his king in the nomes of Shobak, the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the chief of the town and vizier, Amenhotep, master of reverence*»⁽²⁾. Such are the titles of this Amenhotep, who seems to have been different from Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who was worshipped during the late periods. Amenhotep, the chief of the town and vizier seems to have been much interested in Bubastis. He was the overseer of works in Shobak which was closely connected with Bubastis» (see below, pp. 121 f). It is very likely then that Amenhotep was charged by Amenophis III with

⁽¹⁾ It is to be noted that many a passage in the wishes and epithets of the two inscriptions are similar and some are even identical.

⁽²⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XXXV-E, F, pp. 31-34.

erecting his chapel in this town, which flourished particularly during his reign. Amenhotep and Kheruef may have only stopped at the place briefly but Khaemwese must have lived there. The town was an important place because it was the point of departure to Sinai and Asia where the king's army and expeditions used often to go. Most probably the big stela found in Bubastis and speaking about the invasions of the mountain of Hua and other places dates to the reign of this king⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Attributed by Naville to the reign of Sesostri III, *ibid.* pl. XXXIV-A and p. 10, but we believe that it should be rather attributed to Amenophis III., as suggested by Breasted, *A.R.* II § 846.

CHAPTER VIII

BLOCKS TRANSFERRED TO BUBASTIS

Naville, speaking of a statue of Menthu-herkhopshef, son of Ramesses II, where Bastet, mistress of Bubastis, is invoked, says «The geographical name 𓆎 *Bast* was used at this time, but it may have applied only to the part of the sanctuary specially dedicated to the goddess, for it is certain that though Bast was worshipped in the temple as early as the twelfth dynasty, she was not the chief divinity of the place under the eighteenth dynasty, nor under the Ramessides, who were adorers of the great gods of Egypt, Amon, Phtah and Set»⁽¹⁾. Further on, when he speaks of the First or Entrance Hall of Osorkon I, he states: «It is certain that Osorkon I., reconstructed the temple, beginning with the eastern hall, where most of his sculptures have been found. With the rebuilding coincides the change in the dedication, which was not completed under Osorkon I., but which was definitive after Osorkon II. Bast, who had only a secondary rank under the twelfth dynasty or Rameses II.; to whom statues or tablets were dedicated, but who was not yet the great goddess of Bubastis, takes precedence over the other divinities of Egypt, and especially over Set. Amon and other Egyptian gods may be seen on the walls of the first hall, but Bast occurs more frequently, and has taken a place like Horus at Edfoo or Hathor at Denderah»⁽²⁾.

Such were the conclusions to which Naville was led after the discovery of the Great Temple and its inscriptions. On monuments previous to the XXIInd Dynasty he rarely discovered the name of Bastet and Bubastis, though sometimes other names were found in a very few instances, while those of the other gods of Egypt were often met with. Since, however, most of the

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 44. ⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 47-48.

blocks on which these divinities and localities occur are found reused in later buildings and are somewhat fragmentary, we must look with doubt on these conclusions. In order to see if our doubts are justified it is necessary first to examine the monuments of Tell Basta previous to the XXIInd Dynasty and to trace the names of localities and divinities mentioned there.

DIVINITIES AND LOCALITIES ON BLOCKS OF BUBASTIS

From the Old Kingdom a red granite block of each of Khufu and Khephren were found reused in the first or the Entrance Hall, but these bear nothing but royal names⁽¹⁾. More blocks also in red granite, perhaps from door-jamb, were found reused in the Festival Hall. These have a part of the protocol of Pepi I ending with his nomen accompanied by the epithets: "son of Atum, lord of Heliopolis and Hathor lady of Denderah". Such epithets are somewhat vague and no certain conclusions about the divinities and place-names of Bubastis can be drawn from them⁽²⁾. On the contrary, much can be deduced in this respect from the temple of Pepi I. As we have seen above (p. 4), Bastet was undoubtedly the chief deity of the place in Pepi I period. Her figure is represented more than once in the temple while her name is found there many times. The name of Bast, as we have seen above (pp. 42 f), was applied to the whole town and it is clear that it was the name by which the town was known during the VIth dynasty and most probably throughout the Old Kingdom.

To the Middle Kingdom we have found attributable some statues and all the Hathor capitals and papyrus-bud columns found in the Great Temple. Most of the reused statues in the first three halls were inscribed with the name of Ramesses II, but many among them were considered to be the work

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 5 and pls. VIII and XXXII-A and B.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6 and pl. XXXIX-D and NAVILLE, « *Les fouilles du Delta pendant l'hiver de 1887.* » in *Rec. de trav.*, t. X, pp. 58-60. Usually in such instances a king's epithets relate him to the divinities of the place. Although Atum is known to have been adored at Bubastis and Hathor is seen on some scenes there, yet it is not easy to explain the absence of Bastet, the chief divinity.

of the Middle Kingdom usurped by this king⁽¹⁾. The papyrus-bud columns also bear inscriptions with the names of the same king changed to those of Osorkon II. In view of their style and workmanship, they also were attributed to the Middle Kingdom and to Sesostris III in particular, since his names were found more or less complete on a huge architrave and door-jamb reused in the Entrance Hall. On one of the architraves the prenomen of the king is followed by the name of the god *Sokar*⁽²⁾, of whose cult in Bubastis we have no evidence, but in no other inscription of Sesostris III's is the name of any locality or divinity to be found. The same may be said of the monuments of Sesostris I, Sebekhotep I, Sebekhotep III, Khyan and Apophis, whose names were found in the first three halls of the Great Temple. The only fragment of the Middle Kingdom which may aid us in our study is a part of a door-jamb of Amenemhēt I found in the ruins of the temple of Nektanebos II. On this block it is said concerning Amenemhēt I that "he made as his monument for his mother Bastet, (he) made a door in..." (see above, p. 39). This shows that at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom at least there was a temple at Bubastis. It is not known whether Amenemhēt I built it entirely anew, but it is quite sure that he dedicated the building he erected to the goddess Bastet. Although the name of the town is not present on the remaining part of the door-jamb nor on any other blocks of the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period, we have no reason to doubt that it was the same name *Bast* by which it was known in the reign of Pepi I and during the XVIIIth dynasty.

Few objects of the XVIIIth dynasty have been brought to light, but these objects are rather interesting. No monument of this dynasty is known before the reign of Amenophis II whose names were found on two important fragments found reused in the temple of Nektanebos II. The first is a sort of slab dedicated to Amenre, pre-eminent in Perunfer which has nothing to do with Bubastis. The second block on which Bastet is represented (above pp. 89-91), shows that in his reign also the town was called Bast.

No monument dedicated by Amenophis III was unearthed before our excavations, but Naville found four statues of officials of his reign. Of these one

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 36. ⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 9 and pl. XXXIII-F.

belongs to a certain Amenhotep who was overseer of all the works of the king and the province of *Shobak*⁽¹⁾. We shall see later that the last word is the name of a part of Bubastis. On the other statues there is no reference to divinities or localities. But on three statues which we were fortunate enough to discover outside the Great Temple there were found important texts giving the name of the place and its divinities. One of these is the sphinx of Amenophis III himself found reused in the Tomb of Hori I (see above pp. 98-100). There the king is described as: «Beloved of Bastet, mistress of Bubastis». The second is of the chief of the archers and overseer of the northern foreign lands, Khaemwese and his wife Menena. The goddesses invoked are Sekhmet and Renutet, but the wife is described as chantress of Bastet. The third statue seems to represent the same man with another wife, the dyad carved about the occurrence the First Jubilee of the king. The owner is «the chief of the archers, overseer of the northern foreign lands, the petitioner in the First Jubilee festival, Khaemwese» and his wife is «mistress of the house, chantress of Sekhmet, songstress of Bastet, Khebununes, the blessed». The text which refers to the man on the second statue is begun by the prayer: «May the king give offerings to Horakhti-Atum-Praised-in-Truth and the Ennead residing in Bubastis», while that of his wife begins with «May the king give offerings to Sekhmet, Bastet, Edjō and Seshmetet residing in Bubastis». The divinities invoked here are not the great gods of Egypt, but are the deities usually adored in Bubastis. The name *Bast* occurs often on this statue and the other statues of the reign of Amenophis III showing that it was the name by which the place was known during the reign of this king and most probably during all the XVIIIth dynasty. Except for a granite block with the two cartouches of Aton which was reused in the time of Ramesses II⁽²⁾, no other monument of the XVIIIth Dynasty has been found at Bubastis.

The majority of the reused blocks in the late temples dates to the XIXth Dynasty. Seti I has only left his name on the slab which Amenophis II dedicated to Amenre of Perunofor but the name of his son is found everywhere in the first three halls of the Great Temple. In fact there were quite a few blocks

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pp. 31 ff and pl. XXXV-E. F (above p. 106). ⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 34 and pl. XXXV-I.

or statues discovered in these halls which did not bear traces of one of the names of Ramesses II. What concerns us now are the blocks with the name of a locality or a divinity. Of these blocks two have the name of Ptah-of-Ramesses while a third has that of Seth-of-Ramesses. The god Seth is met with several times on reused blocks. Other divinities such as Monthu, Ptah and Amūn have also been found. On a block with the cartouches of Ramesses II which was used as the corner of a building there is the representation of Merenptah as a prince offering incense to Shu on one side and to Amūn on the other. Side by side with these blocks were found others which bear the names of the other divinities known to be peculiar to Bubastis. Thus on a block used originally as a stela or the back of a statue (now in the Cairo Museum) and reused in the Entrance Hall, the king is spoken of as: «Thou priest of Bastet, born of Sekhmet. . . . suckled by Edjō and nursed by Seshmetet; thou hast chosen Bubastis that their protection may be over thee (literally him)»⁽¹⁾. Somewhat similar epithets which relate the king to the local divinities are found in other inscriptions.

On this block from Tell Basta Ramesses II is given some epithets which associate him with some of the divinities of Bubastis. It is to be remembered that these are the same goddesses who are met with on the sphinx of Amenophis III and on the dyads of Khaemwese of the reign of the same king. Further on in the inscription Ramesses II is referred to as resembling Nefertum who is considered to be one of the names of the son of Bastet. It is unfortunate that a part of the block is missing, for had it come to us complete, we might have had the names of the other divinities of Bubastis. Even so, in what remains of the inscription it can be seen how he much favoured Bastet, the chief goddess of the place, for he says «(he made) excellent monuments before her that she might appear and be pleased in all her festivals».

This is not the only monument of the reign of Ramesses II which mentions the divinities and place-names of Bubastis. On the statue of his son Mentuherkhepshef referred to at the beginning of this chapter Bastet, lady of Bubastis, is invoked twice (above, p. 109). There is also a fragment of a statue of a royal son of Kush, whose name is not known, on which

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 41 and pl. XXXVIII-B.

occurs the name of the goddess accompanied by the same epithet⁽¹⁾. It is not absolutely certain that this statue is to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II, but it cannot be later than the Ramesside period.

Of the successors of Ramesses II not much has been found at Bubastis. A small fragment of a statue of Merenptah was found in the space between the so-called Hypostyle Hall and the Temple of Nektanebos II, where most of the objects of the Ramesside period were found. On this fragment, the king is called: «beloved of Atum, the lord of the Two lands, the Heliopolitan»⁽²⁾. A part of a statue of Ramesses III was also discovered. It has an inscription in which the king is qualified twice as «beloved of Bastet, lady of Bubastis»⁽³⁾. Naville lists three statues of Ramesses VI as only other monuments of the Ramesside period⁽⁴⁾. One of these has nothing but the cartouches, another speaks of monuments of Amûn while on the third are the cartouches followed by the name of Bastet.

TRANSFERENCE OF BLOCKS TO BUBASTIS

Thus there have been found at Bubastis several monuments dating all the way from the VIth dynasty to the XXth dynasty which bore the name of Bastet and other divinities connected with Bubastis. These divine names are in most cases accompanied by the place-name *Bast* which points clearly to the whole town. It cannot be admitted then, as Naville believed, that this name was only known in the reign of Ramesses II and that it was then applied to the part of the sanctuary dedicated to the goddess. Nor can we accept the theory of Naville that this goddess had only a secondary position during the XIIth dynasty and from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties and that it was only under the Bubastites that she took precedence over the other divinities.

But side by side with the monuments mentioning the divinities and the place-name of Bubastis, there are others on which occur the names of the great gods of Egypt such as Amûn, Ptah, Shu, Seth and Ptah-of-Ramesses.

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 45 and pl. XXXVIII-E. ⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 45 and pl. XXXVIII-D. ⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 45 and pl. XXXVIII-G. ⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 45 and pl. XXXVIII-H and K.

How can we explain the presence of these blocks? Examining the texts on them we find that the names of the great gods are not related to any locality except on the slab with the name of Amenophis II referred to above. Although this slab has a rectangular form it might have originally been part of a stela of which the round top and the part with the inscription were cut off when the block was reused. This slab is 85 cm. broad and its height might have been four times as much. It has balanced scenes depicting the king offering two vases (lost in the scene to the left) to Amenre who is seated before him. The god is called in one scene «Amenre, pre-eminent in Perunofér, the great god, lord of heaven»⁽¹⁾.

Such a big slab, being dedicated to Amenre, lord of Perunofér must have had a close relation to that town. Naville, who found no place-name on any monument in Bubastis prior to the XIXth Dynasty except Perunofér, suggested that this must have been the name of the place until that period⁽²⁾, but that idea was not accepted by others. Daressy made a detailed study of the location of the town and claimed that it must have been somewhere in the eastern part of the Delta where the influence of Asiatic religion was great⁽³⁾. Spiegelberg who afterwards studied seven texts in which the name of the town occurs, said that it could not be the name of Bubastis⁽⁴⁾. Glanville, in studying a papyrus concerned with the royal dockyard of Tuthmosis III, concluded that Perunofér could be a part of Memphis⁽⁵⁾.

With the discovery of a big historical stela of Amenophis II in Memphis mentioning Perunofér it seems evident that the name should indicate some part of Memphis⁽⁶⁾. How then can we explain the presence of what may be a part of another stela of Amenophis II with the mention of Perunofér in Bubastis if that name does not refer to Bubastis or have any relation with it? It is true that in the New Kingdom the great divinities of Egypt such as Amûn and Ptah are met with in sites far from their chief places of worship, but in such

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, pl. XXXV-D.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁽³⁾ *Bulletin de la Société Roy. Géog. de l'Égypte*, XVI, pp. 225 and 233.

⁽⁴⁾ *Revue de l'Ég. anc.*, I, pp. 215-217.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ä. Z.*, LXVI, pp. 108-109 and LXVIII, pp. 28-30.

⁽⁶⁾ A. M. BADAWI, «Eine neue historische Stele Amenophis' II», in *Ann. du Serv.*, XLII, 3.

cases, they are mostly associated with the chief place of their worship and sometimes were described as pre-eminent or residing in the town where the monument is found. Such is the case with the reliefs in the first or Entrance Hall of Osorkon I at Bubastis, where we find Amûn referred to as «Amenre, king of the gods, lord of heaven, residing in Bubastis», while Ptah is spoken of as «Ptah the great, who-is-at-the-South of-his-wall, master of Ankhtawi residing in Bubastis»⁽¹⁾. On the stela of Amenophis II, Amenre is associated twice with Perunofor without any mention of Bubastis. Again we have to remember that Perunofor was not considered to be the chief centre of the worship of Amenre. In some instances where this place-name occurs, it is found with other divinities especially with those of Asiatic origin⁽²⁾.

From this we may conclude that this slab originally stood at Perunofor and was later transferred to Bubastis during or even before the reign of Nektanebos II, in whose temple it was found reused. We have seen above that all the blocks found in the Great Temple at Tell Basta dating to the period previous to the XXIIInd Dynasty are found reused. All these blocks have heretofore been assumed to have been parts of destroyed temples in Bubastis before the Bubastites, but we have now to consider most of these to have come from monuments built in distant places, as did the slab of Amenophis II just described.

We have shown elsewhere that, during the Middle Ages and later, blocks were taken from older sites to newer cities⁽³⁾. The absence of quarries in Lower Egypt and the difficulty of extracting and transporting stone from far-distant quarries obliged the inhabitants to fetch the blocks they needed from ruins of old towns. Why should we not believe that this was going on even during the Pharaonic period? It is well known that the Pharaohs used blocks or earlier monuments found in the same place in erecting their temples. In Lower Egypt the monuments found on the spot were not always enough and we believe that in such cases they looked for blocks in other places where they could be found in abundance. This would explain the fact that there were discovered at Tell Basta numerous blocks with the mention of the great gods

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 48 and pls. XL-D and A; cf. also B.

⁽²⁾ Thus we found it with Astarte, *Bulletin de la Soc. Roy. géogr. d'Égypte*, XVI, p. 226.

⁽³⁾ For this, see our article «Sais and its Monuments», in *Ann. du serv.*, XLII, 369 ff, cf. 403 ff.

of Egypt such as Ptah, Amûn, Seth, Shu and Ptah-of-Ramesses who were known not to have been especially revered in Bubastis. It is not easy to distinguish the blocks which were originally erected in Bubastis from those which were brought from other places, but we hope to be able to do that in another study.

DIVINITIES WORSHIPPED IN BUBASTIS

At the head of the pantheon of Bubastis there clearly stands the goddess Bastet. She was one of those divinities who were closely related to the place where they were pre-eminently worshipped. It is not known whether the goddess gave her name to the place or the place lent its name to the goddess. It seems, however, that the latter hypothesis is the more probable, for we find that the name of the goddess is just the *nisbe*-form of that of the town. The same may be said of other divinities such as Horus who is called the *Behdetite*, or the One of *Behdet*, Seth who is named the *Nubti* or the one of the town of *Nubt* and the god *'ndti* called after the town of *'ndt*. Later such places were given, in addition to their civil names, a sacred one which was composed of the name of the chief divinity preceded by the word \square or $\square \hat{\square}$ and in this way they were attributed to their deities.

On the reliefs Bastet was always represented as a cat-headed goddess, while her statues, whether in bronze or in faience, were in the form of a cat or a cat-headed goddess with her young at her feet or carried in a basket. Many of the bronze and faience statues were found mixed with the bones of the cats in the cemetery to the northwest of the ruins. No stone statues of Bastet were found, but Naville said that he discovered the fragments of one which might have been in the form of a woman with the head of a cat⁽¹⁾. It is known that the cat was not introduced into Egypt until the Middle Kingdom, but it may have been about in a wild state before that.

The worship of Bastet was not widely spread outside Bubastis, although she is known to have been held in reverence in some other places. It is known that the northern door of the Valley Temple of the Second Pyramid at Gizeh is inscribed with the name of Hathor on one jamb and that of Bastet on the

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 58 and pl. XLIII-G.

other⁽¹⁾. In the well known part of Memphis, *P₃-pn't*⁽²⁾, the goddess is known to have been held in reverence and she is known to have been worshipped in another called *Ihy.n.B;st*⁽³⁾ in the eleventh nome of Lower Egypt. But apart from this she is only rarely met with in other places where she is identified with local goddesses. Thus we find her in Samannûd identified with Mehyt⁽⁴⁾, with Mut of Asher in Karnak⁽⁵⁾, with Hathor and other deities⁽⁶⁾.

In the inscriptions of Bubastis the goddess is given various titles which may be summarized as :

1) General epithets usually given to all the goddesses : *mistress of the Two Lands, mistress of all the gods; lady of heaven; lady of the shrine*⁽⁷⁾.

2) Epithets given to her as «the eye of Re». It is known that Sekhmet was considered to be the violent eye of Re while Bastet was known to be the peaceful eye. The goddess is also called the eye of Horus and the eye of Atum, since these gods were sometimes identified with Re. Thus she was called : *eye of Re*⁽⁸⁾; *right eye of Re*⁽⁹⁾; *eye protecting her father Re*⁽¹⁰⁾; *eye of Horus*⁽¹¹⁾; *eye of Atum*⁽¹²⁾.

3) Epithets relating her to localities : *lady of Bubastis*⁽¹²⁾; *Bastet the great, lady of Bubastis*⁽¹³⁾; *pre-eminent in the-Field-of-the-God*⁽¹⁴⁾; *mistress of Pr-ns(r)*⁽¹⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ HÖLSCHER, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, p. 17, figs. 7, 8.

⁽²⁾ H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géog.*, II, p. 37.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 101.

⁽⁴⁾ Ed. NAVILLE, *Détails.... sur quelques temples égyptiens (Bihbeit el-Hagher)*, pl. 17 A. 2.

⁽⁵⁾ PERCY NEWBERRY, «A statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu», in *Ann. du Serv.*, t. XXVIII, p. 141. The name of the goddess was found among those of other goddesses.

⁽⁶⁾ BONNET, *Reallexikon der. ä. Religionsgeschichte*, 80 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ For this epithet see *Bubastis*, pl. XLVII-G. The previous ones are found everywhere and there is no need for giving any reference to them.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pls. XXXIX-J, XL-G, XLIII-G.

⁽⁹⁾ See *ibid.*, pl. XLIV-F.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-A.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pls. XL-E, XLI-A, XLVII-G.

⁽¹²⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-F.

⁽¹³⁾ Bastet is not called *the great* before the XXIst dynasty.

⁽¹⁴⁾ See above, p. 88.

⁽¹⁵⁾ P. 121.

4) Epithets relating her to or identifying her with others divinities⁽¹⁾ : *w't (the unique) who has no peer*⁽²⁾; *Mehnet who is over.....*⁽³⁾; *the goddess Wnet*⁽⁴⁾; *Great of valour, the goddess Wsert*⁽⁵⁾; *The one who is over the secrets of Atum*⁽⁶⁾; *the daughter of Re*⁽⁷⁾.

With Bastet, there were worshipped other divinities who may have formed a triad and an ennead. We have already seen (p. 55) that the Great Temple was dedicated to the goddess while another building was consecrated to her son Hor-hekenu or Mihos. These two divinities form with the god Atum the triad of Bubastis. The goddess was often called : «*The one who is over the secrets of Atum*»; a title which shows the relationship between her and that god. Moreover, hundreds of bones of the ichneumon which was considered to be the sacred animal of Atum were found in the Cat Cemetery in Tell Basta. And finally we must remember that on the shrine of Saft el-Henneh Atum is represented in company of Bastet and Hor-hekenu before the god Soped.

Where then was Atum worshipped in Tell Basta? He is only once represented in the Hall of Osorkon, but in the Great Hall many divinities who have no connection with Bubastis are represented. Since there was a special temple for the worship of Bastet and another for that of Mihos, it is very likely that there was a specific building dedicated to Atum, the third member of the triad. Herodotus speaks of a temple dedicated to Hermes in Bubastis. He says that at a distance of three furlongs from the temple of Bubastis at the end of a road which passed through the market-place and which was lined with trees of extraordinary height was the temple of Hermes⁽⁸⁾. At about the distance indicated Naville found a few granite blocks and heaps of broken stones. According to him there were the remains of a temple probably erected

⁽¹⁾ See below p. 120 and *ibid.*, pl. XLVII-4.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58 and pl. XLIII-G.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58 and note 9.

⁽⁴⁾ See below p. 129.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-B, C.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pls. XLI-E, XLIII-G.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-A.

⁽⁸⁾ Book II, p. 138.

by Ramesses II and enlarged, if not built completely, by Osorkon and dedicated to the divinities of Bubastis and not to Hermes⁽¹⁾. If, however, the reliefs on these blocks are studied it will be seen that Bastet does not appear as the chief deity of the place as she does in the Great Temple. She is represented once in the sacred bark where she has a secondary position; Atum may have had the principal position, but unfortunately the part on which he would have been represented is missing. Underneath the bark the king followed by Shu and Tefnut is seen offering the *wd;-t* eye to Atum⁽²⁾. It is a pity that the surviving blocks of this temple are very fragmentary and that so very little of the divinities still remains, but it is quite probable that the building was consecrated to Atum and not to all the divinities of Bubastis. If this were so, every member of the triad would have had a special temple as in other important religious centres such as Karnak.





Besides the members of the triad other divinities also were held in reverence. On the dyad of Khaemwese and Menena there is the mention of Sekhmet and Renutet and on the other representing the same man with Khebununes, the goddesses Seshmetet, Edjō and Sekhmet are invoked with Bastet (p. 69). These goddesses seem to have been identified with Bastet for some reason or other. They are also mentioned on the part of a stela or the back of a statue of Ramesses II (p. 113). In addition, Sekhmet had a shrine consecrated to her in the temple of Nektanebos II (see above, p. 83). It is quite probable that the reason for her identification with Bastet is that the two are related through the cat and the lioness which are of the same family. Edjō is mentioned many times in the temple of Nektanebos II, and there Bastet is given the title "mistress of *Pr-ns(r)t*", which is peculiar to this goddess of Lower Egypt where Bubastis was situated. Seshmetet, on the other hand, was found on a part of a shrine which stood in the Temple of Nektanebos II. This goddess was adored in the XXth or Arabian nome whose capital was a short distance from Bubastis and this may be the reason why she was worshipped there⁽³⁾.


⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 60.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pl. L-C. Perhaps he is represented in pls. L-A and G.

⁽³⁾ For the worship and peculiarities of this goddess, see Newberry in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 316 ff.

Three other gods were especially revered there also. These were Monthu, Mihos and Nefertum. The first had a shrine in the Temple of Nektanebos II (see above, p. 82). He was represented as a falcon-headed god wearing the two feathers. He was adored with Mihos in Leontopolis⁽¹⁾ which is not far from Bubastis, and this may have been the reason why they were both worshipped in the latter town. Nefertum, on the other hand, is considered to be the son of Sekhmet and, as she was identified with Bastet, her son was in turn identified with Hor-ḥekenu, the son of Bastet. The Ennead of Bubastis may have been composed of these divinities, although the names of other divinities occur a few times on some of its monuments. Harsaphes is mentioned on a shrine of Nektanebos II (p. 82) and is also shown, together with Hathor, on a block now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. This has been taken as Khnum or Banebbed (p. 78 and note 2).

We have seen above that the place was known in all periods as Bast. This word was written as ⁽²⁾ but more often as . The name  from which the word Bubastis is derived has not been found on monuments coming from Tell Basta, but it occurs on other monuments such as the stela of Piankhi at Gebel Barkal⁽³⁾. The form in Papyrus Harris I as *Brst* and of the inscription of Merenptah at Karnak as *Pr-Brst* are unique writings of the name (below pp. 123 ff). The *Ww* or territory of the district called  'the Field-of-the-God' is found on many monuments sometimes in relation with Bastet, sometimes in connection with Hor-ḥekenu or Mihos.

The place-name  is found once only at Bubastis. This was on the statue of Amenhotep discovered by Naville and referred to above (p. 106). The name occurs in a title of the owner which Naville translated: «the head of all works of his king and the provinces of the pasture marshes of the North». Naville believed that these provinces of the pasture marshes referred to are the pasture lands in the vicinity of Bubastis. He tried to prove from the presence of these pastures a theory about the Land of Goshen

⁽¹⁾ Jacques DE ROUGÉ, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3, In Leontopolis, the principal temple was called *Ht-nfr nt Mhs*. Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géog.*, t. IV, p. 99.

⁽²⁾ In the Temple of Pepi I, see above, p. 42 and in the Temple of Nektanebos II (see above p. 88).

⁽³⁾ GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, II, 75.

which according to him was situated in the triangle of El-Zaqâziq, Bilbeis and Saft el-Henneh. A similar name was considered by Naville to refer to the same land. This is the place-name found on a fragment of a statue where it occurs in this context: «the child of *Dp*, the kind of face in the *S̄;-n-B;st* ⁽¹⁾. The same name was also found on a vase of unknown provenance, although it too may have come from Bubastis.

According to Cledat *S̄;-n-B;st*, stands for Thaubastet or Thaubastum ⁽²⁾ mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus between Serapeum (Gebel Maryam) and Sile (Tell el-Ahmar, near Qantara) ⁽³⁾, but nearer to the former. It is too far east to have any relation with Bubastis. *S̄;-n-B;st* occurs on one of the monuments of Bubastis and it may be assumed, therefore, that it stood rather for the pasture lands of Bubastis which were also called *Spt-Sha-p;k*. The last sign of this name is translated «North», by Naville, but we must consider it as a determinative ⁽⁴⁾, and thus the word should be read *Spt-š;-p;kw* and translated the *Nome of the Marshes*. This name sometimes written as *S̄;-n-B;st*, came down in the name of the neighbouring village known as Shobak or Shobak Basta. This village was an important place before the beginning of the last century ⁽⁵⁾. It is worth mentioning that the name Shobak is found many times especially beside old sites. Thus a place beside Kafr Sakr is called Shobak Iqrâsh where ruins are not faraway. Beside the ruins of Tell el-Yahûdiyeh is a village called Esh-Shobak.

⁽¹⁾ *Bubastis*, p. 56 and pl. XLIII-C.

⁽²⁾ *Bulletin I. F. A. O.*, t. XXIII, p. 52.

⁽³⁾ BALL, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, 142.

⁽⁴⁾ It is used as such with watery regions as was the case in that nome. See A. H. GARDINER *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-List, M. 15.

⁽⁵⁾ In the time of Mohamed Ali Pasha, before the erection of El-Zaqâziq, it was considered one of the big *Nahia* or quarters of the *Khot* or districts of Sharqîya, see Prince Omar Toussoun, *La géog. de l'Égypte à l'époque Arabe*, t. I^{er}, p. 500.

CHAPTER IX

BLOCKS REMOVED FROM BUBASTIS

BILBEIS AND ITS CONNECTION WITH BUBASTIS



Bilbeis is a small commercial town, the centre of a district (markaz) in the Province of Esh-Sharqîya. It is situated just at the edge of the desert about 20 kms. to the south of the ruins of Bubastis and about 22 kms. to the north-east of Tell El-Yahûdiyeh. It has always been considered to be an important ancient site dating back to the Pharaonic period, since the modern town has been built on a comparatively high mound and inscribed blocks have been found there from time to time ⁽¹⁾. During the last sixty years many houses were pulled down to be rebuilt after the removal of the underlying earth which was usually used as fertilizer or made into bricks. A large part of the town was thus reduced to the level of the neighbouring cultivated lands and nowadays there is only a small part of the town which stands on a high level ⁽²⁾. Some blocks with hieroglyphic inscriptions were discovered in the foundations of houses or below them. Even before these discoveries, Bilbeis was thought to be an old town. Its name, which does not sound like an Arabic one, was regarded as being derived from an ancient Egyptian name.

Thus Brugsch in his *Dictionnaire Géographique* states that the name of Bilbeis, derived from the Coptic $\phi\epsilon\lambda\beta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$, is nothing more than the place-name *Brst* of the Papyrus Harris I, and *Pr-Brst* of the famous Merenptah inscription of Karnak ⁽³⁾. But examination of the texts in which these names occur shows that *Brst* is referred to when it is a question of the serfs placed

⁽¹⁾ For this site and the finds made there, see PORTER and MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 55-6.

⁽²⁾ At the beginning of the present century a great part of the town was still built on a high mound, see DUNCAN in PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 65.

⁽³⁾ P. 197.

by order of Ramesses III —  «in the House of Bast, lady of Brst in the Waters-of-the-Sun». *Pr-Brst*, on the other hand, occurs where it is said that the invaders had pitched  «tents before *Pr-Brst* and had made a watering tract derived from *Ity*»⁽¹⁾. The theory of Brugsch based merely on the resemblance of these names to the modern name of Bilbeis was accepted by Naville in his study of the location of the land of Goshen⁽²⁾. Later, when he visited Bilbeis and found in the houses of the town some inscribed blocks, he was assured of this identification. He found on them the mention of some divinities and localities related to the Bubastite nome, a fact which made him believe that Bilbeis belonged to that nome⁽³⁾.

Although the discovery of these blocks convinced some scholars such as Duncan⁽⁴⁾ and Daressy⁽⁵⁾ of the identification, yet it did not receive the approval of others such as Breasted, Gardiner and Cledat. According to Breasted *Brst* or *Pr-Brst* had nothing to do with Bilbeis and must have been in the western part of the Delta, where he considered the Waters-of-the-Sun to have been situated⁽⁶⁾. This has been shown to be untrue by Gardiner in his exhaustive study of «The Delta Residence of the Ramessides», although he also rejected the theory of Brugsch as to the identity of *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* with Bilbeis. Studying the texts in which these localities occur he shows that the tract or rather the branch of *Ity* found in the Merenptah inscription at Karnak must be the one which is referred to in the great Edfu geographical texts as being the river of the Heliopolitan nome and the *pehu* of the Arabian nome. Thus, according to Gardiner, *Ity* was the name given to the portion of the Bubastite Nile arm near these two nomes, and the Waters-of-the-Sun was the name of the Nile arm that ran past Bubastis. As to the

⁽¹⁾ For these texts and their translation, see GARDINER, «The Delta Residence of the Ramessides» in *JEA*. V, p. 258. The Karnak text is corrected according to the copy collated by the late B. Grdseloff.



⁽²⁾ *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and The Land of Goshen*, p. 19 and *Appendix*.

⁽³⁾ *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, p. 22.

⁽⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁽⁵⁾ *B. I. F. A. O.* vol. XIII, p. 187 and vol. XXIII, p. 45.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ancient Records*, IV, § 369 a.

identity of Bilbeis with *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* he says : «There is no evidence that the Bubastite branch ran so far east as Bilbeis, and it may be guessed that *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* are but variant names due to some cause unknown of  *B;st* and  *Pr-B;st* respectively»⁽¹⁾. These views were accepted by some Egyptologists such as Cledat, but were criticised by others such as Montet. In a study concerning the identification of Piramesse and Avaris with Tanis, the latter scholar did not agree that Bubastis was on the Nile arm called 'The Waters-of-the-Sun' and that *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* could stand for Bubastis⁽²⁾. Gardiner, although he went over to the side of Montet in regard to the theory of the equation Piramesse-Avaris-Tanis, maintained his views about the identity of *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* with Bubastis, giving as a new proof of his theory an example in which the name of the goddess Bastet occurs as with an *r*⁽³⁾.

We wholly agree with Gardiner, adding that the *r* in *Brst* is not a great obstacle to the identification of these place-names with Bubastis. It is true that the *r* is normally weak only at the end of words⁽⁴⁾, but it is also true that in some words it is weak when it is in the middle. Thus *Pr-nsrt* of which we spoke in the last chapter is sometimes written as *Pr nst* (above, p. 88), *K;r* shrine is found sometimes as *K;* only⁽⁵⁾. More convincing than this is an example which I owe to Grdseloff. In Papyrus Harris we have the word *b;rg* «negligent» written sometimes as *b;g*⁽⁶⁾. If we remember, moreover, that sometimes the ; replaces the *r* as happens in the verb *w;hy* derived from *wrh*⁽⁷⁾, we can easily understand how *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* may be the same as *B;st* and *Pr-B;st* respectively.

If this is true we have to find an explanation for the presence of the inscribed blocks found in Bilbeis. Was it an important place in the Pharaonic period? If so what was the name by which it was known? To answer these

⁽¹⁾ *JEA*. V, p. 258.

⁽²⁾ *Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramsès* in *Revue Biblique* (Jan. 1930), p. 20.

⁽³⁾ *Tanis and Pi-Ramesse : A Retraction*, in *JEA*. XIX, p. 128.

⁽⁴⁾ Grdseloff produced three words in which the *r* is omitted. These are *Pr-d;rt*, *;srt* and *w;rt*. See *Ann. du Serv.*, XLIV, pp. 297-8.

⁽⁵⁾ *Wb*. V, 107 : 12.

⁽⁶⁾ *Wb*. I, 431 : 2 and 466 : 14

⁽⁷⁾ See *Wb*. I, 258 : 13, 14.

questions we shall examine the blocks which had already been discovered and those we were able to gather in 1943-1944 in Bilbeis, while we were working at Tell Basta.

BLOCKS OF BILBEIS

Naville was the first to point out the presence of ancient remains in Bilbeis. Going through the town in 1887 and entering many houses, he found one block with the name of Ramesses II and others with the names of Nektanebos II. He speaks of this last sovereign as being the builder of a temple which may have been erected over a building of Ramesses II⁽¹⁾. Here is a description of these blocks :

Block no. 1. Nothing is given about this block except the fact that it bears the cartouche of Ramesses II.

Block no. 2 bears between two vertical lines the inscription : «Horus⁽²⁾ 'Mry-t;wy', The Two Mistresses 'Shr-ib-ntw', The Golden Horus...» (fig. 23 g).

Block no. 3 has between two vertical lines the inscription «...stp-n-R', the son of Re⁽³⁾ of his own body, his beloved, lord of diadems 'Nht-Hr-hbi...» (fig. 23 e).

Block no. 4 has between two vertical lines the inscription «...Mry-t;wy, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, 'Sndm-ib-R' stp-n-Înhrt', the son of Re, lord of diadems 'S;....'...» (fig. 23 a).

Block no. 5 has between two vertical lines the inscription⁽⁴⁾ «...living like Re, beloved of Sekhmet the great residing in Bubastis, given all life like Re forever» (fig. 23 h).

Block no. 6 has also between two vertical lines the inscription : «..... beloved of (a certain divinity residing in) Bubastis, given all life like Re forever» (fig. 23 c)⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Mound of the Jew*, p. 22. For block no. 1, see *ibid.*, p. 22, for nos. 2-6, see pl. II a; for no. 7, see pl. II c; and for no. 8, see pl. II b.

⁽²⁾ Copied without the crown, *ibid.*, pl. II a.

⁽³⁾ Copied without Re^c which cannot be correct, *ibid.*, pl. II a.

⁽⁴⁾ Copied as ● but it should be ● *Ibid.*, pl. II a.

⁽⁵⁾ There is no sign within the cartouche in the original.

Block no. 7 has the representation of a god with the double crown of which only a part is present. He is referred to as being : «...the great god residing in the Field-of-the-God». Although the name of the god is not mentioned, he may have been Hor-hekenu, who is sometimes referred to as living in the Field-of-the-God and who usually wears the double crown.

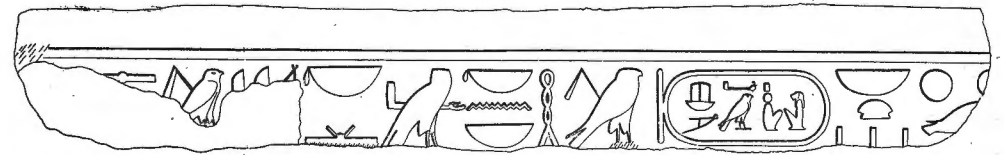


Fig. 28.

Behind the god are a few signs of a speech of some divinity reading : «[Utterance : I give] to thee all life and dominion [and all health, I give] to thee great sovereignty [in joy]».

The dimensions and the present location of these blocks are not known. Naville says nothing about the material but it may be stated that blocks 2-6 were quite probably of dark grey granite like the other blocks from shrines.

Block no. 8 is found at present in Shâri es-Sâdiq, beside the house of Sheikh Mohamed Agâpâsha. It is in quartzite 28 cm. high and 190 cm. broad (Pl. XLII-A and figure 28). It has under a row of stars the inscription : «...Son of Re, lord of diadems 'Nht-hr-hbi s;-Bstt mry-Înhrt', beloved of Hor-hekenu, lord of protection, Horus...»⁽¹⁾.

Twenty-five years after Naville, six more blocks were picked up. These were published in 1913 by Edgar who stated that one of them had the cartouche of Merenptah, the second had no king's name and the rest had one or more of the names of Nektanebos II. Edgar believed that in Bilbeis there was a temple of the latter king and that Bastet was the chief goddess there⁽²⁾. As one of the blocks has been already published by Naville (Block no. 2) we give a brief account of the remaining five blocks maintaining our numbering series.

⁽¹⁾ The cartouche is not rightly rendered, while there is no space after *nb* and at the end *s* is omitted see *ibid.*, pl. II b.

⁽²⁾ «Notes from my Inspectorate», in *Ann. du Serv.*, XIII, p. 279. For blocks nos. 9-13, see *ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

Block no. 9. This is in black granite⁽¹⁾. It has between two lines the vertical inscription : «(Horus 'Mry)-t;wi', the king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Sndm-ib-R' stp-n-*Īnhrt*⁽²⁾, son of Re, lord of diadems 'Nht-Hr-hbi' s;-B;stt mry-*Īnhrt*', (beloved of) Horus.... (fig. 23 b)». The god here mentioned must be Hor-hekenu whose name is found on other blocks.

Block no. 10 is also in grey granite and bears a vertical inscription identical with that of block no. 2. The text on block no. 10 is described as running from left to right. This shows that it has been written in the opposite direction so as to form one side of a shrine of which block no. 2 forms the other side. Edgar stated that he had not seen the block and that he copied it from a paper squeeze made by the local inspector, a fact which makes us look with doubt on the copy especially if we remember that it contained some faults. The inscription reads : «Horus 'Mry-t;wi' the Two Mistresses 'Shr-ib-ntrw'⁽³⁾, The Golden Horus...» (fig 23 g).


Block no. 11 was also copied from a paper squeeze made by the inspector. This block is said to be of red stone, but it is reasonable to think that it was actually of dark grey granite like the other fragments of shrines. The direction of the inscription is again not noted in the copy given by Edgar which also contains some faults. Between two vertical lines we have the inscription : «...beloved of Monthu⁽⁴⁾, great⁽⁵⁾ of valour, residing in Bubastis, given all life, stability, dominion, and all health like Re forever» (fig. 23 i).

The dimensions and the present location of the above-mentioned blocks are unknown.

Block no. 12. Edgar says, «On a red granite block in the gutter of a saqyeh outside the town I found the cartouche of Merenptah»⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ For this block, see above, p. 82.

⁽²⁾ The sign is partially shown in the copy by Edgar.

⁽³⁾ Copied as  by Edgar, see *ibid.*, p. 280, but as the corresponding inscription no. 2 has not the three strokes, it is unlikely that this inscription should have any.

⁽⁴⁾ Copied with extra *n*, p. 280 which cannot be true, especially if compared with the corresponding inscription of Zifteh, see p. 135.

⁽⁵⁾ Written reversed.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

After a long research I found in the fields of a certain Hâg Sayed el-Batrîq in Hôd el-Gharbi a big block of red granite. It seems to have formed part of a wall or a door-jamb of a temple and it bears the fragmentary inscription seen in pl. XLII-B. This block is undoubtedly the one referred by Edgar, although at the time it was first copied a large part of the inscription was canceled, perhaps by the building of the *saqyeh*.

Block no. 13 was found in Atfet Abu Khreiba beside the house of Sâdiq Abu Khreiba. It is of quartzite and is 23 cm. high and 171 cm. wide

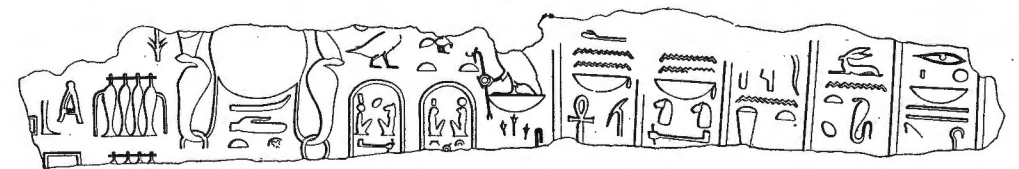


Fig. 29.

(pl. XLII-C and fig. 29). On it is seen the solar disk from which hang two uræi, each wearing the crown of one of the parts of Egypt and having the 'nh-sign hanging down from it. Then come the prenomen and the nomen of Nektanebos II to which a vulture opposite gives the sign of dominion. The vulture is standing on a basket over a clump of the lily plant with the usual text : «she (gives life and dominion)»⁽¹⁾. On the other side of the sun-disk is : «[The ka of] the king, pre-eminent in the Pn-dbt and in the Pr Dw;t»⁽²⁾. Behind the vulture is the text : «[Utterance] : I give to thee life and dominion... (2) [I give] to thee strength..., (3) Speech of Bastet... (4) Wnet...». At last comes a fifth line with a few signs which may have been the end of an inscription. The king Nektanebos II must have been represented under the sun-disk officiating before the goddess Bastet who was standing or sitting under the four lines referred to above.

Schott visited Bilbeis some time later and in 1930 he described some more blocks with fragmentary inscriptions. He speaks of a temple of which not many fragments are left; thus agreeing with Naville and Edgar that there was originally a temple in Bilbeis. Referring to the publications of these

⁽¹⁾ The sign is omitted, p. 279.

⁽²⁾ For *db;t* and *dw;t*, see *Rec. Trav.*, XXXVI, pp. 1-16.

two scholars, he gave a better copy of the last-described block. He also points out the presence of the following blocks⁽¹⁾:

Block no. 14 has the name of king Nektanebos II. It is noted that it was situated at the junction of Shâri El-Halâgi and Shâri El-Bughdâdi (fig. 3, b).

Block no. 15 was at the time of his visit in a house in Shâri Elwân esh-Shehid. It has the beginning of the Golden Horus-name of the same king (fig. 3, a).

Block no. 16 has a part of the king, who is represented offering, accompanied by a part of his Horus-name. It was lying in the house of Ahmed Ayyûb in Shâri es-Saggân, near Shâri eq-Qadîma.

Block no. 17 had 17 uræi and might have been used as a decoration at the top of the façade of a building. It is said that this block was lying in Shâri el-Bawwâbîn.

The present location, dimensions and materials of all these blocks are unknown.

Block no. 18 is a big block in quartzite which is said to have been lying in the yard of the Police Station. It has some big uræi and is now lying outside this building⁽²⁾.

Of the eighteen blocks here described we could only trace four, these given here the numbers 8, 12, 13 and 18. We are unable to discover whether the other blocks still remain in Bilbeis or have been taken away to some museum or private collection. Most of the inhabitants look with suspicion on the agents of the Government and they sometimes try to hide or even to destroy an object rather than to show it to them. It is essential, therefore, to try by every possible means to gain their confidence. This may be done by assuring them that nothing will be taken from them before they are given a good recompense.

In this way we were able to discover some blocks which had not been seen previously and which may have been buried or hidden during the visits of Naville and the others. In recent years many houses were pulled down to

⁽¹⁾ Many signs of this inscription are incorrectly copied and some are omitted, *Ibid.*, p. 279, and Schorr, *Mitteilungen des Deut. Inst.*... Cairo, I, p. 30.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

remove the earth underneath which was used for various purposes, especially for fertilizing the cultivated lands. This work was carried on a large scale during the war because of shortage of artificial fertilizer and thus many blocks were brought to light. Continuing the numbering adopted for the blocks

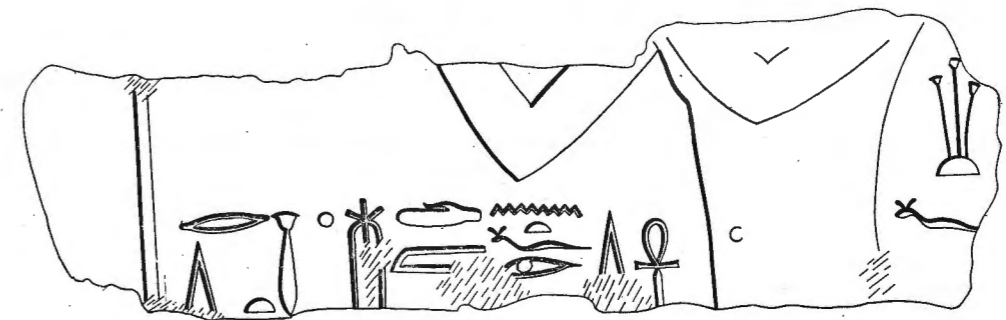


Fig. 30.

already published, we give here the description of the blocks which have come to our notice.

Block no. 19 is lying at the junction of Shâri eq-Qisâriya and Shâri es-Sâdiq. It is of quartzite, 25 cm. high and 88 cm. long (fig. 30). It has the middle part of the figure of a king with the words behind him: «Life

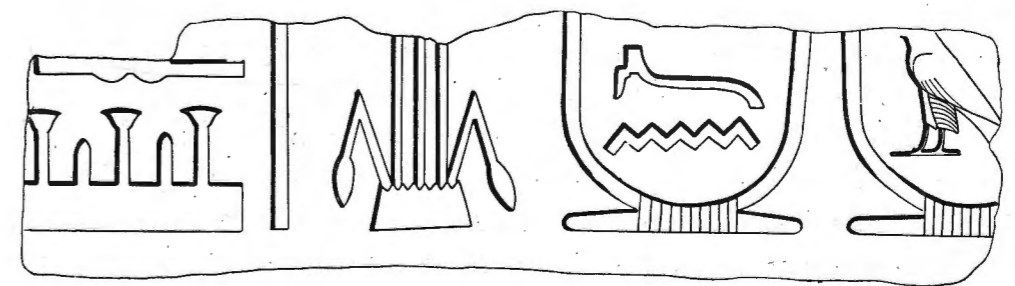


Fig. 31.

(dominion and protection) are behind him». Before him is a horizontal line reading: «Offering green and black eye-paint to his father, making (the ceremony of) giving life». The king should have been presenting a vase or two containing eyepaint.

Block no. 20 was found on a small farm called Ezbet Isrâfil about 5 kms from Bilbeis and then removed to the Inspectorate of Antiquities at El-Zaqâziq. It is of limestone 17 cm. high and 68 cm. long (fig. 31). It has

the lower part of the two cartouches of Nektanebos II and two lines with a few signs (fig. 32).

Block no. 21 is in possession of Sheikh Sayed el-Batriq whose house lies in Shâri el-Hilâliya. It is of quartzite (pl. XLII-D). It has parts of falcons shown standing and extending their wings before them in protection of the names of the king⁽¹⁾.

Block no. 22 lies in Shâri El-Haddâdîn, is of quartzite, 32 cm. high and 158 cm. long (fig. 32). It has, almost in the middle, a sun-disk with two

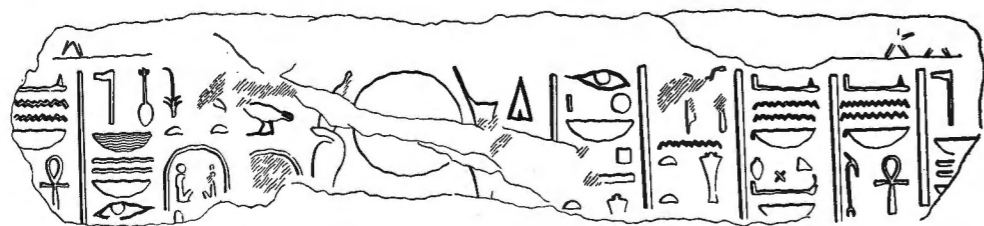


Fig. 32.

uraï each wearing the crown of a part of Egypt. To the left are parts of cartouches of Nektanebos II preceded by : « *the good god, lord of the Two Lands and master of the ceremonies...* ». Opposite is the speech of a divinity of which nothing remains but the signs : « *I give to thee life and (dominion)* ». On the other extremity to this block was a line referring to the king and opposite him is the inscription : « *I give to thee life and dominion (2) I give to thee all victory, (3) speech of Bastet...* (4), *the eye of Re and mistress of heaven* ». Below these texts were originally two scenes in each of which the king is shown before a divinity, who in one of the cases at least was Bastet.

Block no. 23 lies in Darb Ashiq beside the house of a certain Abdallah Es-Senûsi. It is of red granite and has two registers divided by the sign of heaven with a row of stars inside. In the upper register is : « *... Sndm-ib-R'* *son of Re, lord of diadems 'Nht-Hr-hbi s;-B;stt mry-Inhrt', like Re forever* ». In the lower register is a somewhat damaged inscription.

⁽¹⁾ It resembles a scene on the top of a part of a shrine of the same king found in Tell Basta and now in the British Museum. see *Bubastis*, pl. XLVII-G.

Block no. 24 was discovered during the taking of earth from under the house of a certain man called Esh-Shâhid and was transported consequently to the Inspectorate at El-Zaqâziq. It is of dark grey granite, 54 cm. high and 17 cm. long and 82 cm. thick (pl. XLIII-A). It was once part of the jamb of a shrine, as may be inferred from its form and inscription. It has a part of a vertical line of inscription reading : « *... Son of Re of his own body, his beloved, master of diadems 'Nht-hr-hbi s;-B;stt mry-Inhrt', beloved of Seshmetet...* » (fig. 23 d).

Block no. 25 was used as a pavement in a subterranean chamber in Gâmi' el-Kebîr or the Big Mosque which was demolished in 1943 as it was in a ruinous state. This block is part of a chapel wall of limestone, 31 cm. high and 107 long (pl. XLI-B). It has under a vulture extending its wings '*Nekhabit*' and opposite an uræus, Edjô, perching on a basket and a clump of papyrus, the upper part of the Horus, prenomen and name of Teos, followed by the words « *He gives life, stability and dominion like (Re forever)* ». Behind is a vertical line which had the prenomen of the king, preceded by : « *King of U. and L. Egypt, Lord of two Lands* ». Opposite is the inscription : « *Utterance : I give thee life, stability and dominion like Re' (forever). (2) I give thee all foreign lands with fear (?)... (3) I give thee all strength like..., (4) utterance of Mihos, great of valour, son (of Bastet) (5), the great god, pre-eminent in the Field-of-the-God* ». Underneath is a god with the Atef-crown. This should be Mihos shown most probably as lion-headed.

ORIGINAL LOCATION OF BLOCKS OF BILBEIS AND OTHER SITES

Such are the blocks found at Bilbeis which were considered by Naville, Edgar, Schott and other scholars to be the remains of a temple built there. We have seen that one of the blocks was inscribed with the names of Rameses II, a second with those of his son and a third with those of Teos. Fifteen more blocks have one or more of the names of Nektanebos II but most, if not all of the remainder which bear no royal name, may be safely attributed to the reign of Nektanebos II. This can be said with certainty about the

fragments of shrines because they correspond to others having names of this king. As we have seen above, Naville said that Ramesses II and Nektanebos II built temples in Bilbeis for the sole reason that a block inscribed with the name of the former king and others engraved with the names of the latter were found there. According to this theory, Merenptah and Teos whose names were found there as well must also have built there. But was Bilbeis so important a place in the Pharaonic period as to have temples built by all these kings?

To see whether this can be true or not, we must examine the blocks discovered at Bilbeis and study the names of the divinities and the localities found in their inscriptions. As for the divinities we find that the names of Bastet and that of Hor-hekenu occur twice, while those of Sekhmet, Monthu, Seshmetet and Mihos occur once. All these divinities, as we have seen, were especially adored at Bubastis. On three blocks the name of Bubastis is found, and on two more that of the Field-of-the-God, the territory in the Bubastite nome, is met with. In three instances these localities are found in connection with the above-mentioned divinities. Thus the divinities and localities found on the blocks of Bilbeis are the same as those found on the monuments of Bubastis. Naville, who noticed this fact, said that it indicated «that Bilbeis belonged to the nome of Bubastis, and that the local worship was that of the gods of that nome»⁽¹⁾. These views have not been criticized by any other scholar. Even Gardiner, when attempting to prove that *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* could not be identified with Bilbeis, did not attack this hypothesis, the destruction of which would have added much to his argument. But can we believe that the temples of a town would ever bear the names of the same divinities and the same localities as those of the capital of the nome to which it belonged?

Not far from Thebes stood El-Medâmûd, Tôd and Armant, all of which belonged to the Theban nome. Each of these places had temples dedicated to deities who were not the same as those of Thebes, the capital of the province. At the same time, it was not the names of Thebes which were found on these temples, but other names which were peculiar to each. In Lower Egypt Buto for some time belonged to the Vth or Saitic nome but its monuments

⁽¹⁾ *The Mound of the Jew*,... p. 22.

bear its own divinities and place-names and not those of Sais⁽¹⁾. If Bilbeis, therefore, actually possessed temples of its own they could not have contained the names of the same divinities and localities as did those of the capital of the nome to which it belonged. Even if we admit that they might have had such names we would expect them to have been the names of Heliopolis and not of Bubastis, for this latter town was considered in the Pharaonic period to be a part of the XIIIth or Heliopolitan Nome of which Heliopolis was the capital.

The only explanation for the presence of these blocks in Bilbeis is that they were not originally there but were transported from Bubastis. All the sovereigns whose names have been found at Bilbeis have also been found represented at Bubastis except for Teos. The monument erected by that king was of limestone and it is quite probable that its blocks were destroyed or taken away to be made into lime when they were still in Tell Basta. We must also add that Bilbeis was not the only place which took stones from Bubastis.

Edgar, in demolishing Tell Sheikh Nasr ed-Dîn at Dundît (Markaz Mît Ghamr, Mudrîet ed-Dakahlîya) came across some inscribed fragments, attributing one of the blocks which had the name of Bastet to Tell Basta, but we think that the others also came from the same site⁽²⁾. He spoke in the same report about «a fragment of a black granite naos (?)», which he saw in Zifteh. The inscription which it bears reads: «...*living like Re, beloved of Monthu, great of valour, residing in Bubastis, given all life, all stability and dominion and all health*...»⁽³⁾ (fig. 23, j). This inscription is rather interesting when it is compared with that of another block published by Edgar. This was found in Bilbeis (block no. 11, described above in fig. 23, i) and it also formed part of a shrine. It has an inscription similar to that of Zifteh except for the direction of the signs and the material of the blocks

⁽¹⁾ We found a libation bowl inscribed by a prince of Buto which is there described as part of the Saitic nome. See our article on «*Notes on the Delta Hermopolis*...», in *Ann. du Serv.*, LIII, p. 465 and note.

⁽²⁾ «*Report on the Demolition of the Tell Sheikh Nasreddin*» in *Ann. du Serv.*, XIII, pp. 122 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

is the same, thus showing that they formed parts of one and the same shrine. When we remember, moreover, that this shrine was dedicated to Monthu qualified as residing in Bubastis, we find no difficulty in believing that this shrine once stood at Bubastis, where Monthu was considered as the son of Bastet. Thus a part of the shrine was taken away from its original place to Zifteh, about 30 kms to the west, while the other part was transported to Bilbeis 20 kms to the South.

This induced us to look in other places for inscribed blocks coming from Bubastis. We succeeded in tracing such blocks in three villages rather far

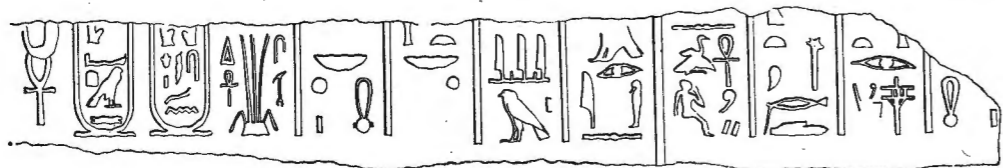


Fig. 33.

from the ruins (for these see the map of 'Tell Basta and Important Sites in the Vicinity'), but it is quite likely that other places may prove also to contain more blocks. One of these villages is called El-Alâqma, about 15 kms to the north-east of the ruins of Tell Basta. This village seems to have had some importance at the time of the Arab invasion. It has a mosque called Gâmi' el-Qorbân, i. e. Mosque of the Offering, which is said to have been erected originally as a church. A block of quartzite, 35 cm. high and 60 cm. long, still used as a threshold to this mosque has an inscription with the cartouches of Nektanebos II (fig. 33). This inscription is incomplete and its meaning is not clear, but it is still possible to make out part of the names of Bastet, Bubastis and the Field-of-the-God; thus showing that the block came from Bubastis.

Recently I was informed that there was an inscribed block in the village of Aulâd Seif, about 14 kms to the south of Tell Basta and 5 kms to the north of Bilbeis. On inspecting this block, I found that it was used as a threshold to an old mosque rebuilt lately and called Gâmi' el-Arba'in. It is of quartzite, 35 cm. high and 105 cm. broad (fig. 34). It has two registers divided by the sky-sign in which stars are represented. Nothing survives of the lower register except for a part of the frame of a cartouche while the upper has : « . . . beloved

of Hor-hekenu, master of protection, the great god, pre-eminent in the Field-of-the-God». No difficulty can be found to admitting that this block came from Bubastis; Hor-hekenu, master of protection, is known to have been one of the chief divinities of Bubastis, while the Field-of-the-God is the name of territory in the Bubastite nome.

Seven kilometres to the west of the ruins of Bubastis lies the large village of Eq-Qinâyât which was an important place before the foundation of El-Zaqâ-

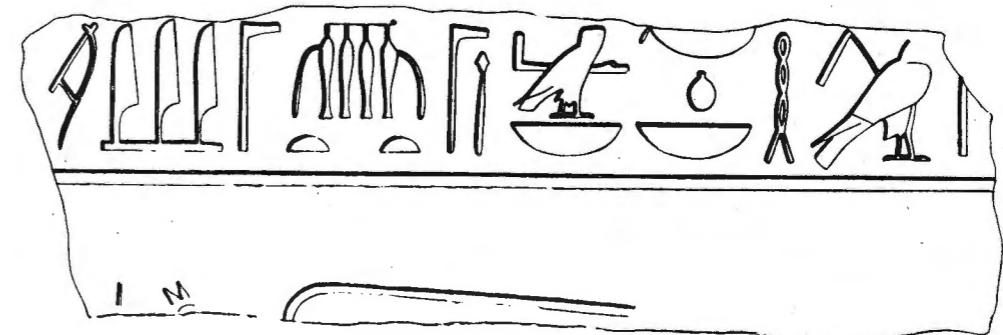


Fig. 34.

zâq at the beginning of last century. Early in the year 1943, I was told by my friend the late Halîm Hanna Abd El-Missîh, who was much interested in Egyptology, that many inscribed blocks were lying in the streets of this village. I visited the place, and passed several hours looking about the streets and the neighbouring cultivated lands for any old remains. Among the numerous granite and quartzite fragments lying there I found two decorated pieces. The first is of red granite, 42 cm. high and 156 cm. long. It was found near the village market-place above a deserted *saggyeh* belonging to a certain Isma'îl Mustapha Shalabi. It has the upper part of a scene in which Nektanebos II is shown wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with a sun-disk above his head from which hang two uræi, each having the 'onh'-sign. Before the king are his two cartouches, to which a vulture opposite them, is presenting the signs of eternity and dominion. The vulture is standing, as usual, on a basket placed on a lily-clump with an inscription which is usually found on the sides opposite a shrine with Ptah inside. Of the god only the head survives, above which is the inscription : [𓏏] 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 [𓏏]

𓂏𓂏𓂏 [𓂏𓂏]𓂏 «(Utterance of) Ptah, beautiful of face (2) (who is on the) Great (Seat) (3) (residing in) Bubastis».

But a more important block lies near to the Elementary School of the village (fig. 35). This is in quartzite and has on a surface of 53 × 38 cms. the representation of Hapi-figure holding an offering table and having on his head the symbol of the Seventh nome of Lower Egypt. Above is an inscription

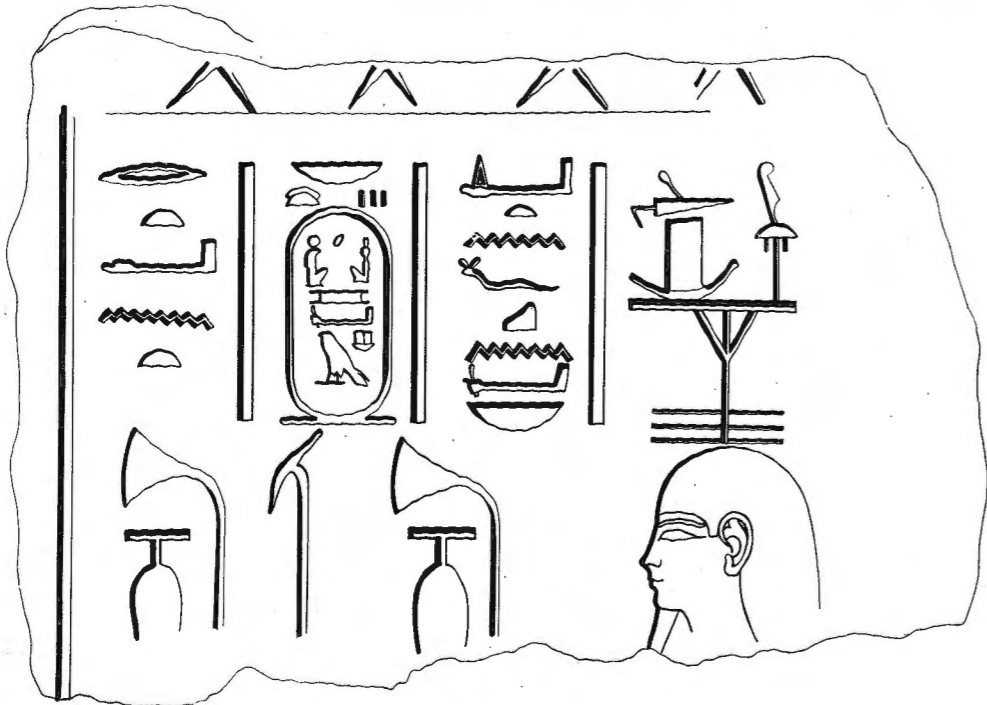


Fig. 35.

which reads «Giving of the (2) lord of diadems 'Nht-hr-hbi s;-R' mry-'Inhr'... (3) What is given to him is all' victory».

The first block of this village should have come from Bubastis, the name of this town is found on it. The second block may have been originally also from there. It is quite possible that a wall with nomes in quartzite was standing in front of the façade of the Temple of Nektanebos and perhaps also on the two sides. All around the ruins of this temple can be seen up till the present time hundreds of chips, especially of quartzite and grey granite, some inscribed with one of the names of Nektanebos II. Some of these are

parts of a wall (pl. XLIII-B), others are fragments of a shrine (pl. XLIII-C). It may be interesting to note that only very few fragments of this material can be still to be seen in the ruins of Tell Basta. Blocks of quartzite are highly prized modernly because they are suitable for thresholds to house and millstones.

Having shown that most of the blocks in Bilbeis came from Tell Basta, we can conclude that Bilbeis, if it existed at all in Pharaonic times, must not have been of any importance. Again the names *Brst* and *Pr-Brst* have never been found on any of the blocks in this town. It cannot be said, therefore, that these names had any relation to it. Duncan and Petrie searched in 1906 for the cemetery of Bilbeis, but in vain. The former worked for a short time in the same year clearing some houses in the town, but only found Roman pottery and Arab coloured earthenware. He also made the most careful search of the neighbourhood and soundings in the vicinity but nothing except late objects were found. He says : «Though we made the most careful search of the neighbourhood, we were never able to find any portion of the *gebel* which gave the slightest indication of having been used as a cemetery, and we were ultimately driven to the conclusion that the important Cemetery of Belbeys has been incorporated in the area of cultivation, which has increased with much rapidity during the past few years through artificial irrigation»⁽¹⁾. The discovery of nothing but Roman and Arab pottery and late objects adds to our arguments that no town existed there before the Roman period. Lately in filling a swamp, earth was taken from land lying in Hôd El-Homra and El-Kanâis, i. e., «The Basin of Redware and the Churches» at about one km. to the southwest of the town. During the work some buildings built of small baked bricks were brought to light and some objects including a mould, two pottery figures, a pot stand (Pl. XLI-C) and a limestone sphinx were unearthed. These can be dated to the Roman period, judged by their style. It is not to be expected then that any cemetery dating back to an earlier period could be found in the vicinity. The town seems to have begun to exist early in Roman times when Bubastis began to decay. The Romans were known to have given much care to reclaiming land for

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE and DUNCAN, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 65-66.

cultivation. It may be as a result of that policy that Bilbeis was founded and that its lands were reclaimed to be cultivated.

Whether this be true or not, we know for sure that the town flourished at the end of the Roman period. It became the seat of a bishopric see in the Coptic period⁽¹⁾ and during the Arab conquest, it played quite an important part. During the Middle Ages before the foundation of El-Zaqâziq, towards the beginning of the last century, it was one of the most important towns of the Eastern part of the Delta. As it was on the limits of Egypt, it was often besieged when the country was invaded and, like its predecessor Bubastis, was used by the Egyptians as the second station after the capital whenever they set out to attack neighbouring countries to the east. In the days of the prosperity of the town big buildings and mosques were built. These needed big blocks of stone which were fetched not from quarries, but from the ruins of Tell Basta⁽²⁾. It is not known how these blocks were transferred, but it is very probable that the same canal passed by both places. The Pelusiac branch of the Nile, also called the Bubastite, passed rather close to Bubastis and it may have run not far from the site afterwards occupied by Bilbeis. During the days of prosperity of the latter town a canal on which blocks could have been carried may have run close to the town. Blocks found at Dundît Zifteh, Eq-Qanâyât, El-'Alâqma and Aulâd Seif, which are not so numerous, may have been carried away recently by railway lines connecting these places with El-Zaqâziq.

Thus the ruins of Bubastis afforded stone for many places in the neighbourhood during the Middle Ages and even recently. But long before that, sometime in the Pharaonic period, Bubastis itself took numerous blocks from some other place or places. The determination when, how and why these blocks were taken will be a subject of discussion when in another study we shall give a history of Avaris-Piramesse and it will be then possible to follow briefly the history of Bubastis itself.

⁽¹⁾ MASPERO et WIET, *Matériaux pour servir à la géo. de l'Ég.*, pp. 45 ff.

⁽²⁾ Malus of that expedition gives a description of the ruins which well fits with the ruins of the Temple of Nektanebos II; a fact which shows that this temple was the only visible part in the ruins, see *Mémoires sur l'Égypte (Description de l'Égypte)*, p. 215 ff, *Antiquités V*, pl. 29, 5.

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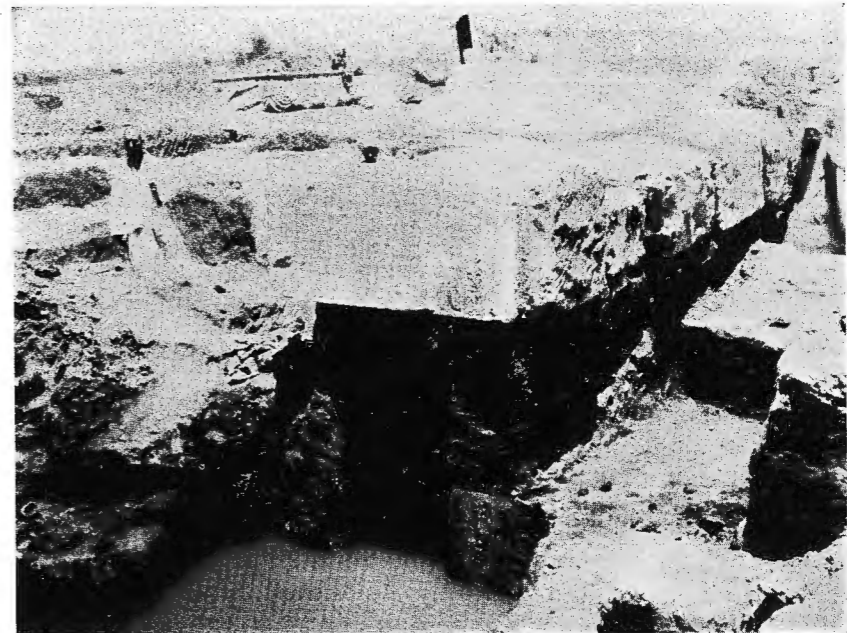
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A. — The façade of Pepi I Temple.



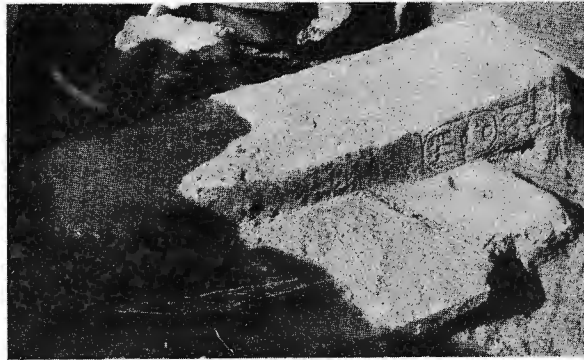
B. — Some of the pillars after clearance.



Southern façade of the gateway.



Northern façade of the gateway.



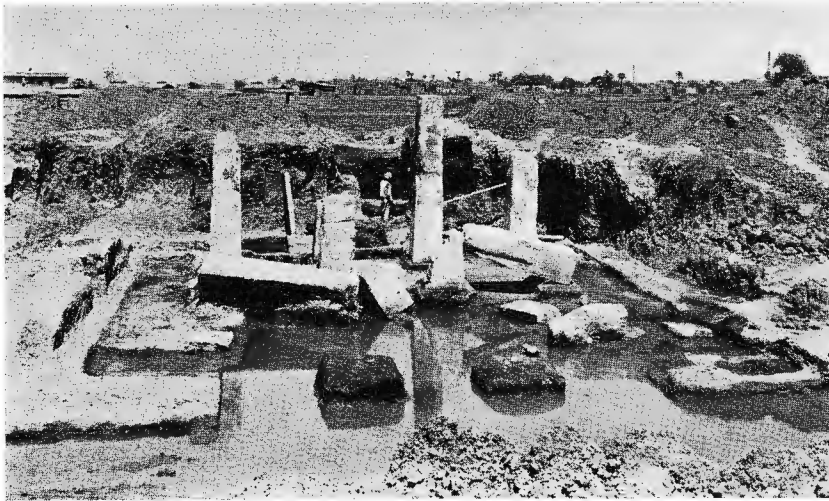
A. — Part of the door-jamb reused.



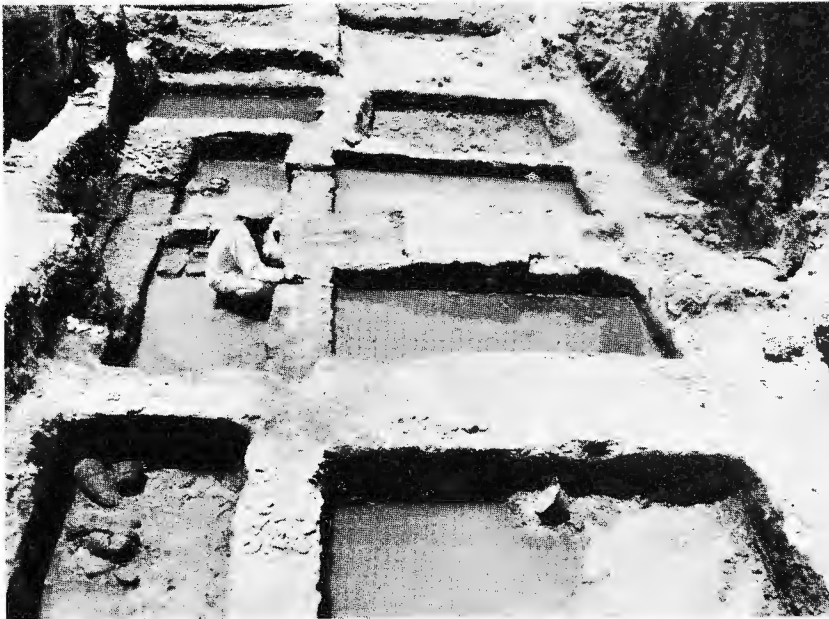
B. — One of the faces of this door-jamb.



C. — Another face of this door-jamb.



A. — Sanctuary after clearance.



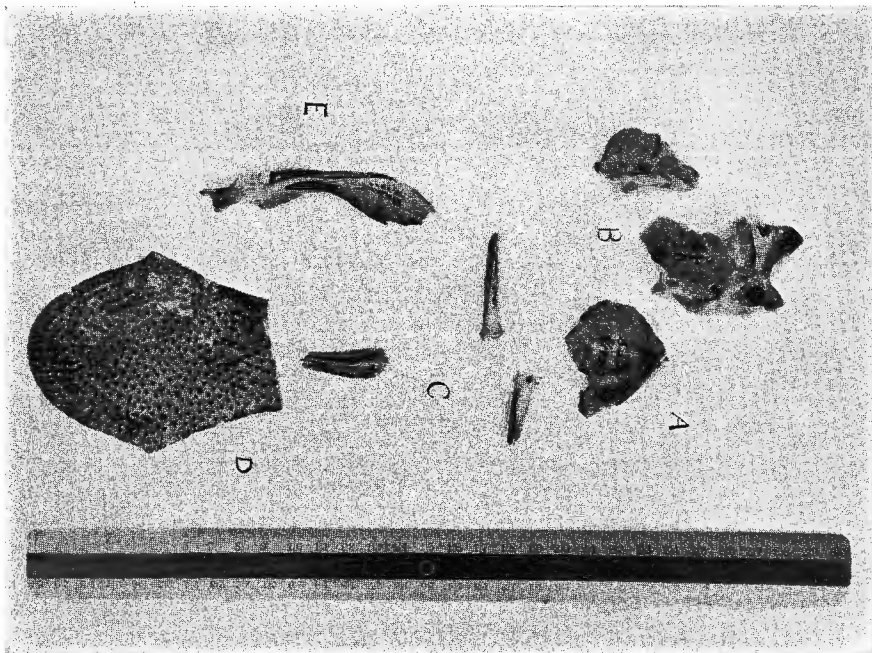
B. — View of compartments beside the sanctuary.



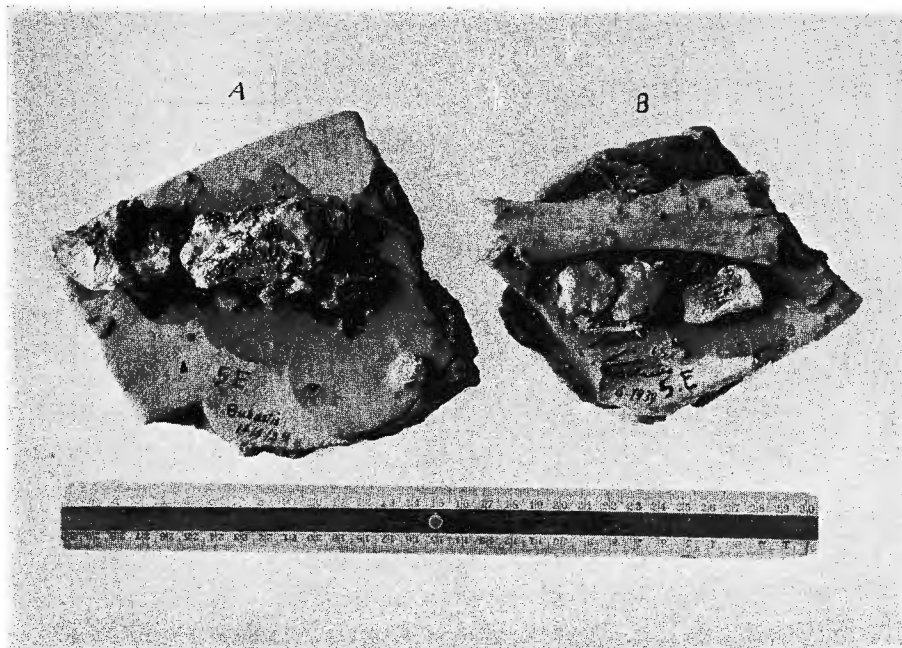
B. — View of pillar no. 8.



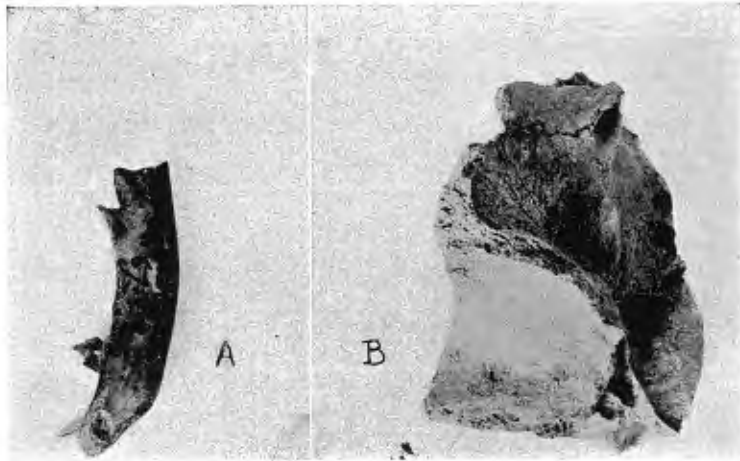
A. — View of pillar no. 2.



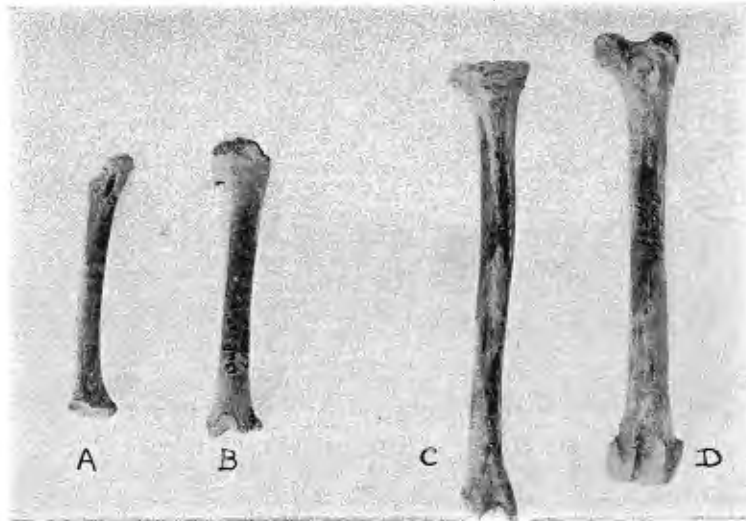
A. — Bones found in the compartments.



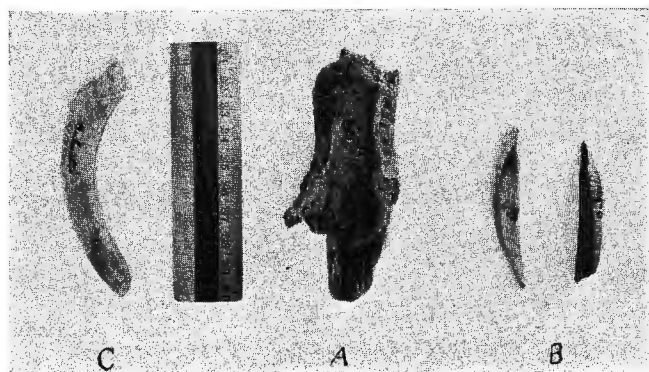
B. — Bones found beside the gateway.



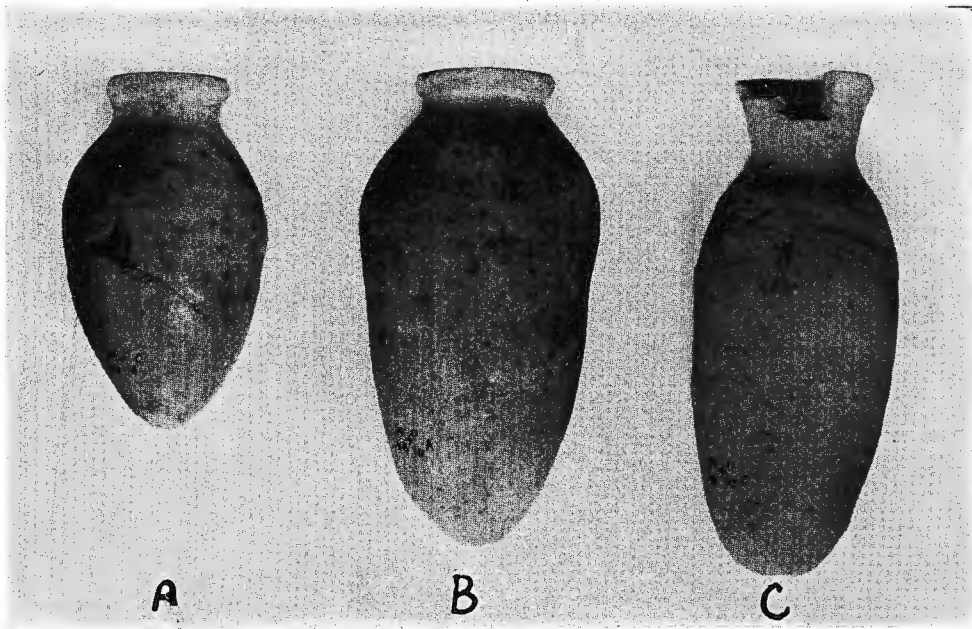
A. — Bones found in the sanctuary.



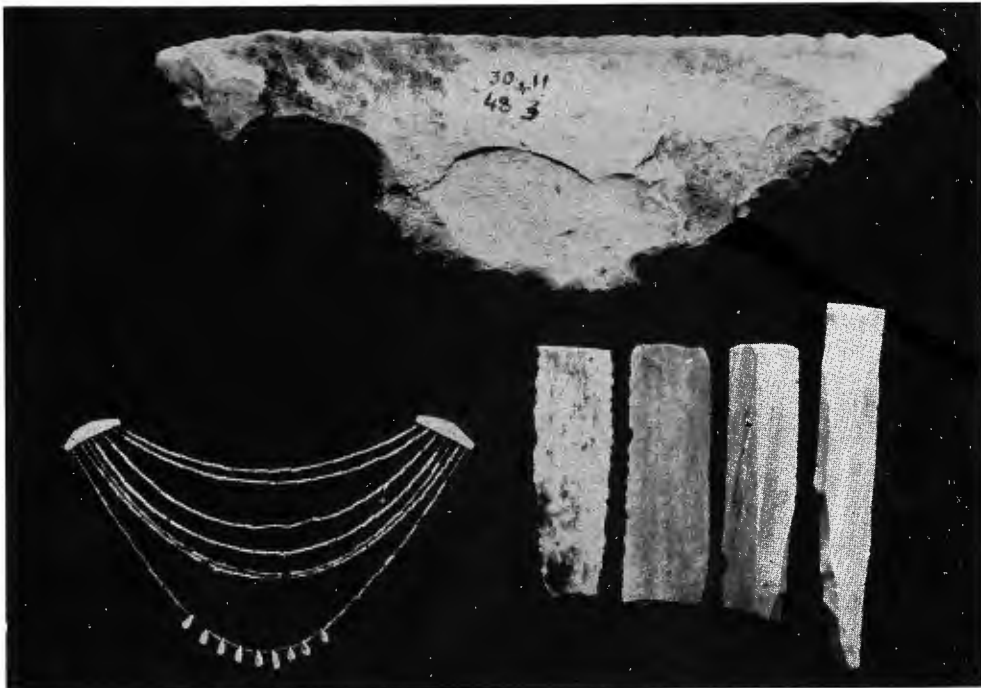
B. — Bones found in the gateway.



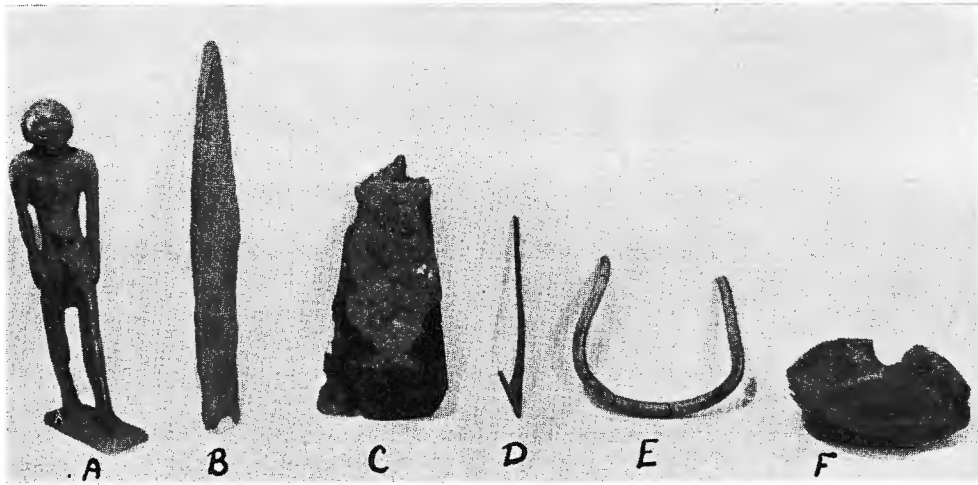
C. — Bones found in the rooms beside the gateway.



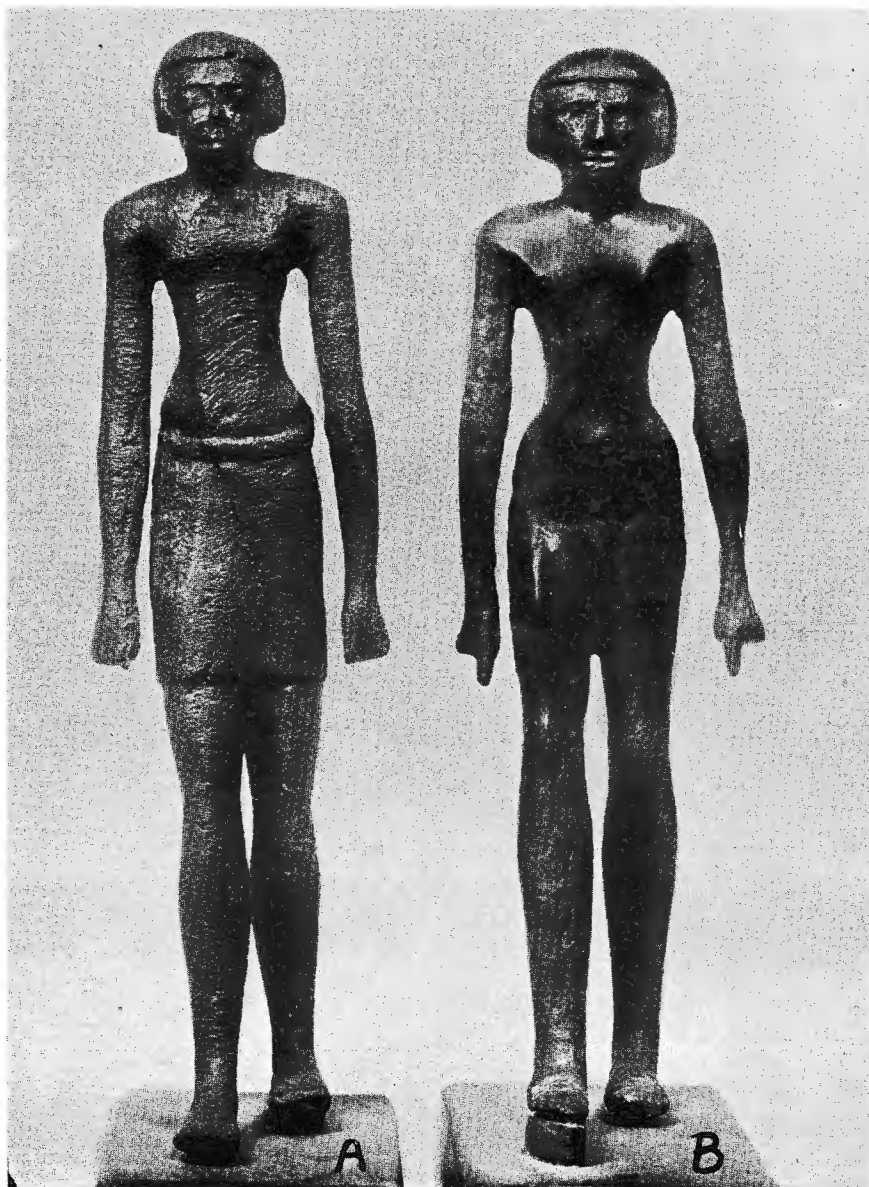
A. — Pots.



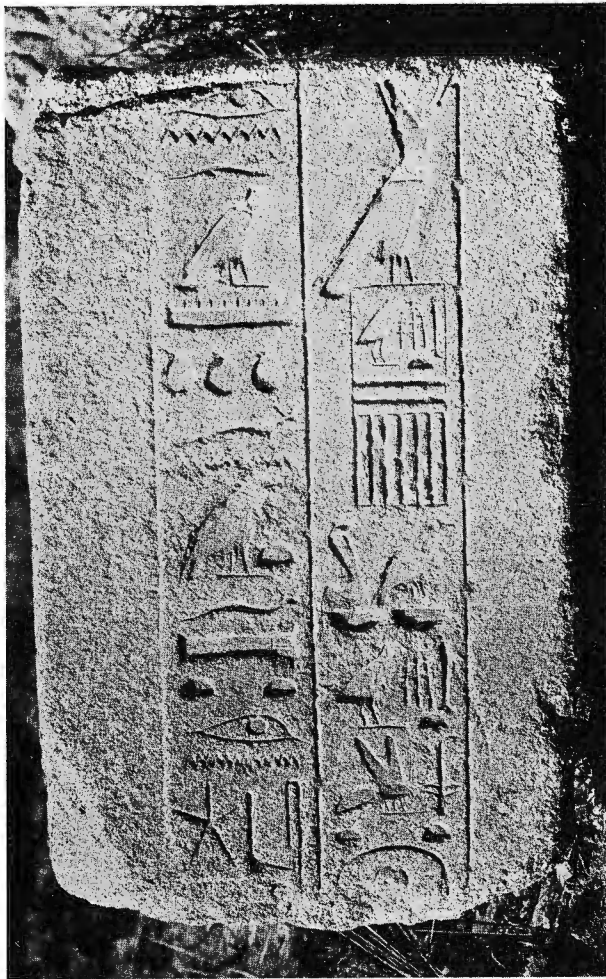
B. — Necklace and flints.



A. — Objects in bronze.



B. — Statues in bronze.



A. — Door-jamb of Amenemhēt I.



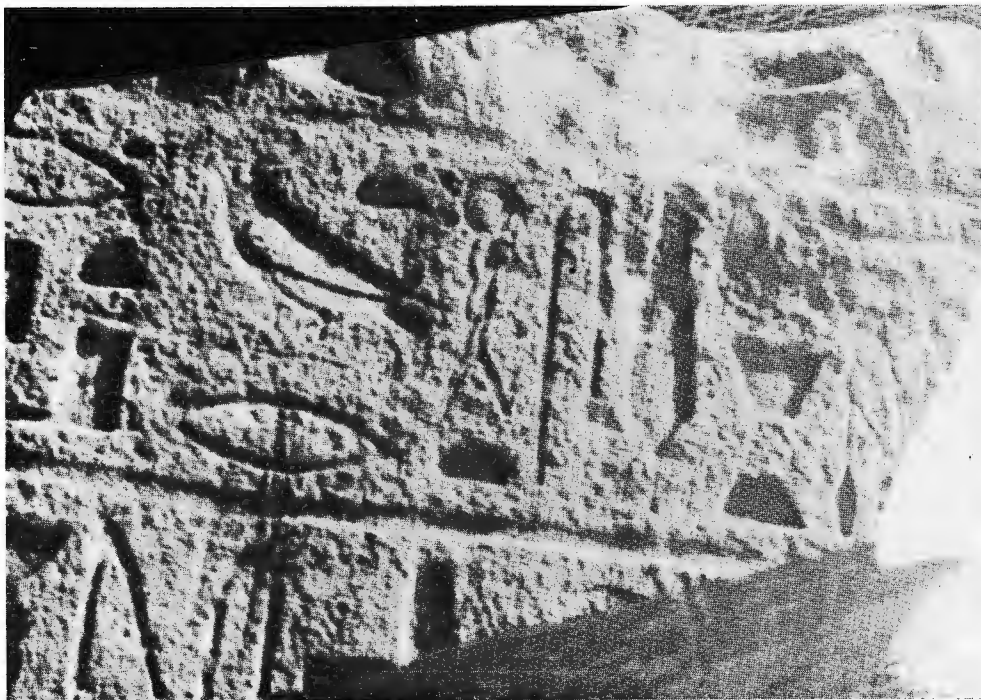
B. — Mihos Temple before work.



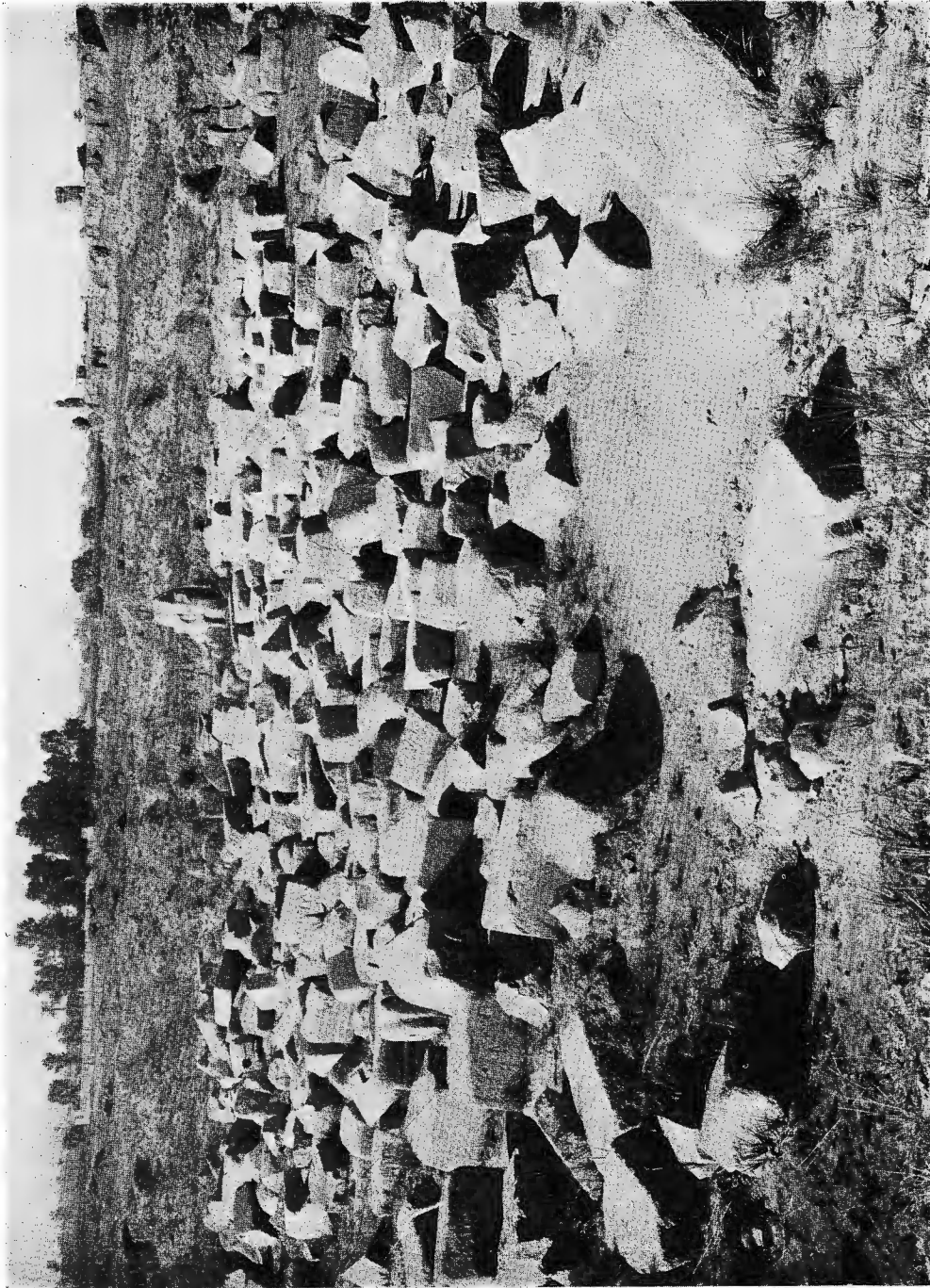
Mihos Temple after work.



A. — Osorkon II before Ḥor-ḥekenu.



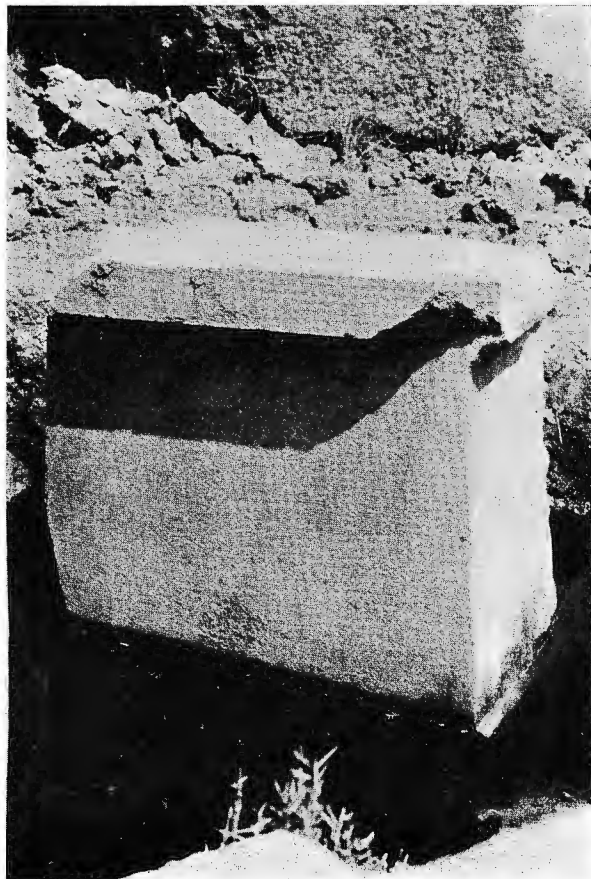
B. — Block with title of a princess.



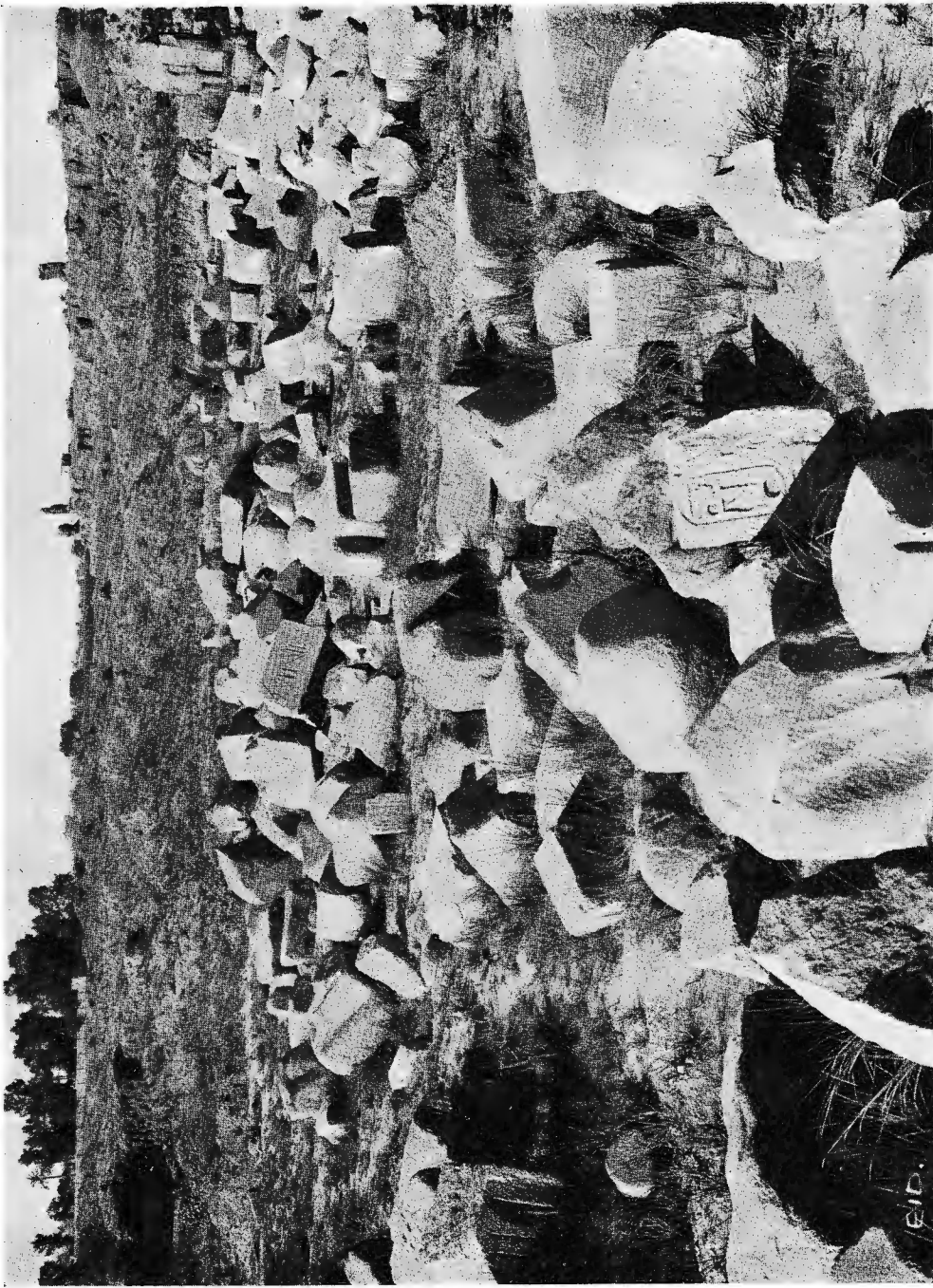
Ruins of Entrance Hall.



A. — Dorsal pillar of a king's statue.



B. — View of an altar.



Ruins of the Festival Hall.

E.I.D.



Ruins of the Hypostyle Hall.

FID.



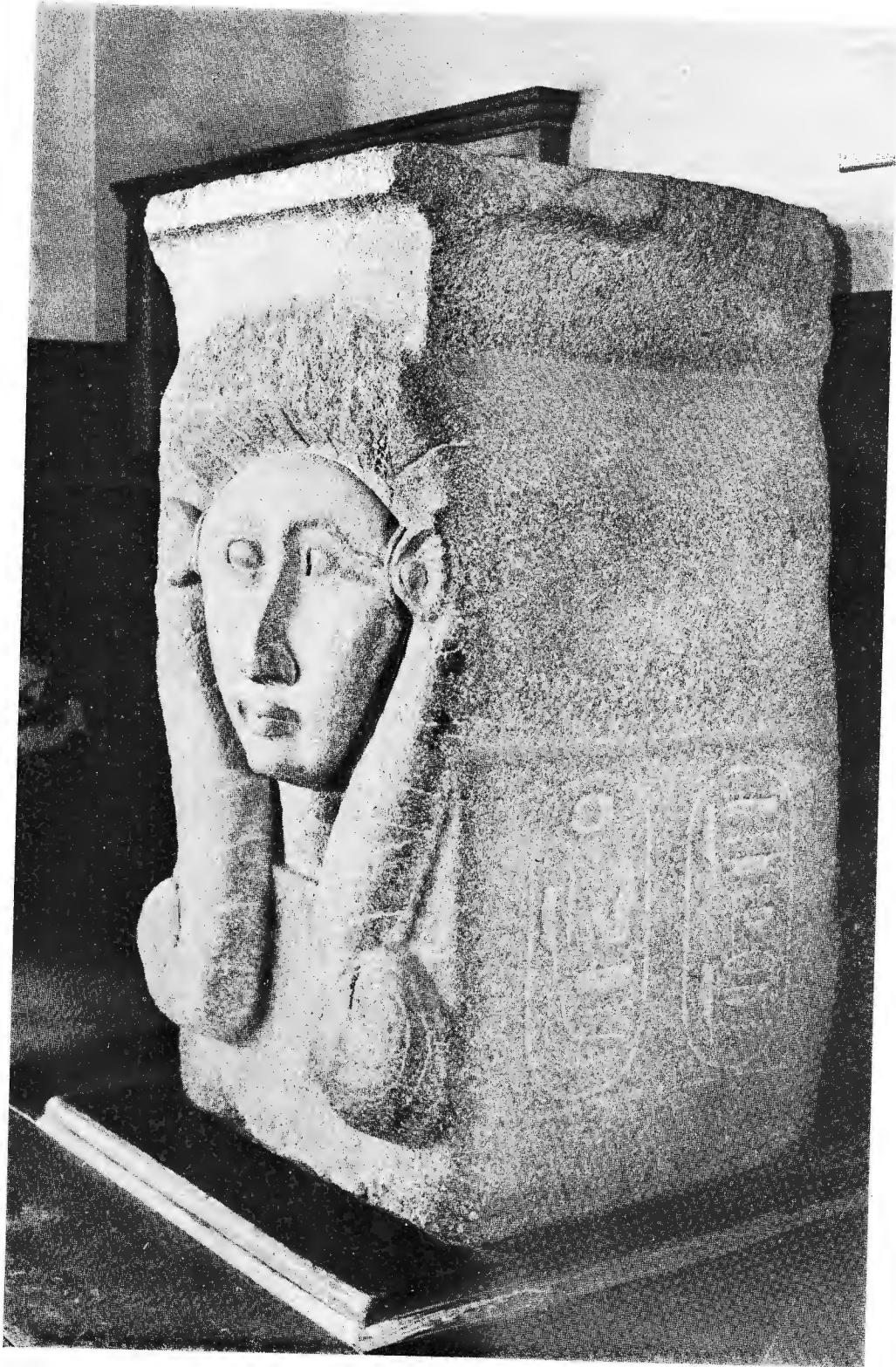
Hathor head in the Cairo Museum.



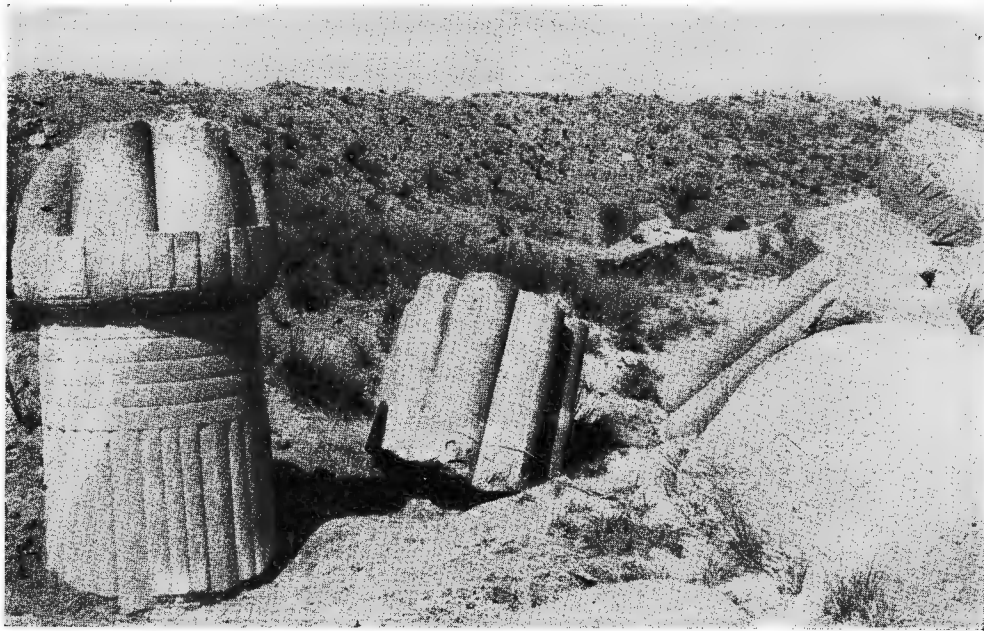
B. — Another face of the Hathor head.



A. — One of the faces of the Hathor head.



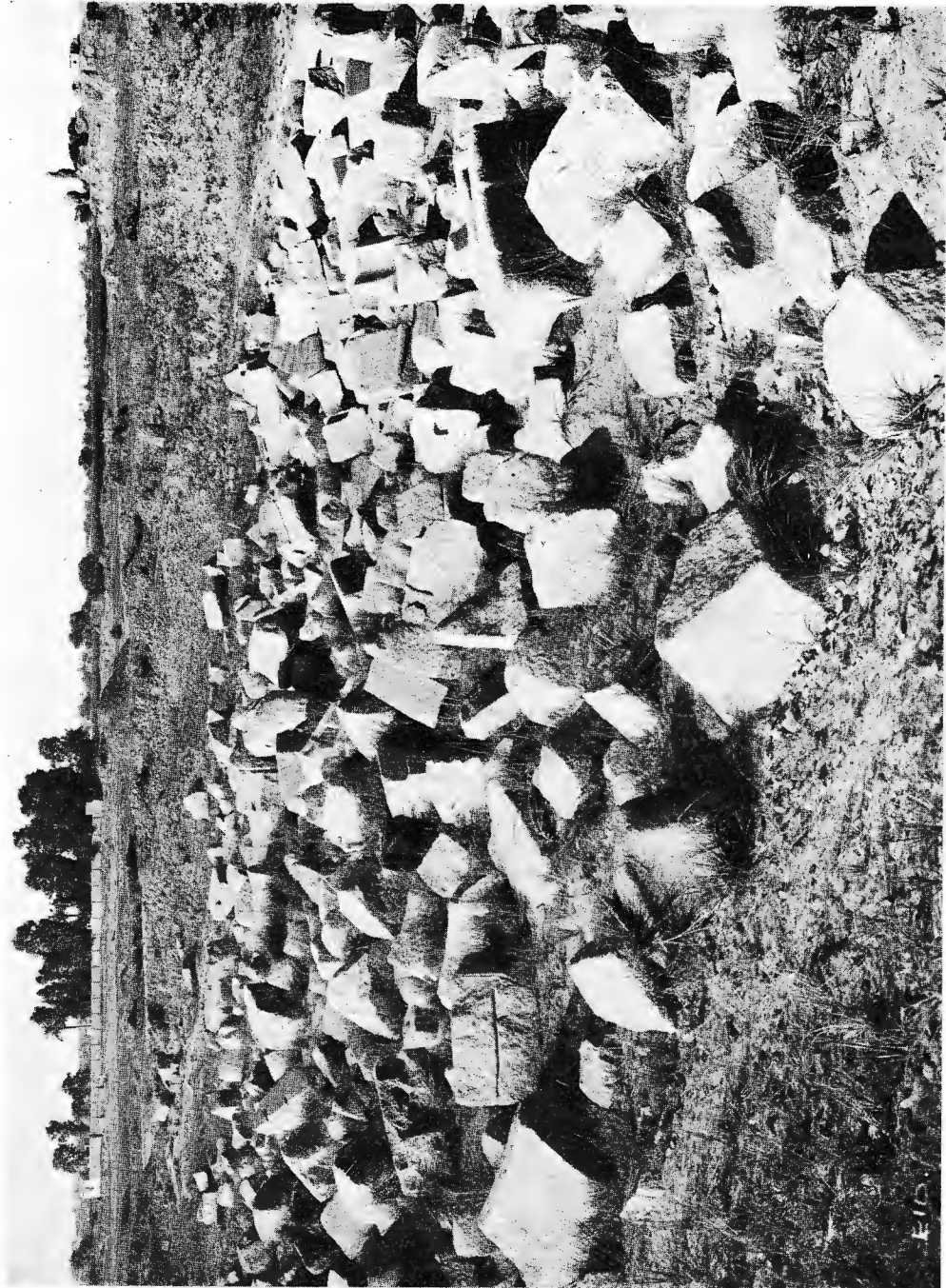
Hathor head in Sydney Museum.



A. — Papyrus-bud column in *situ*.



B. — View of a lintel.

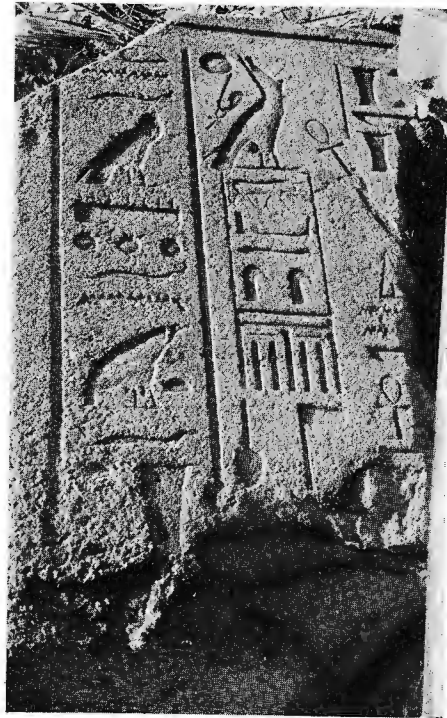


Ruins of Nektanebos II Temple.

F10



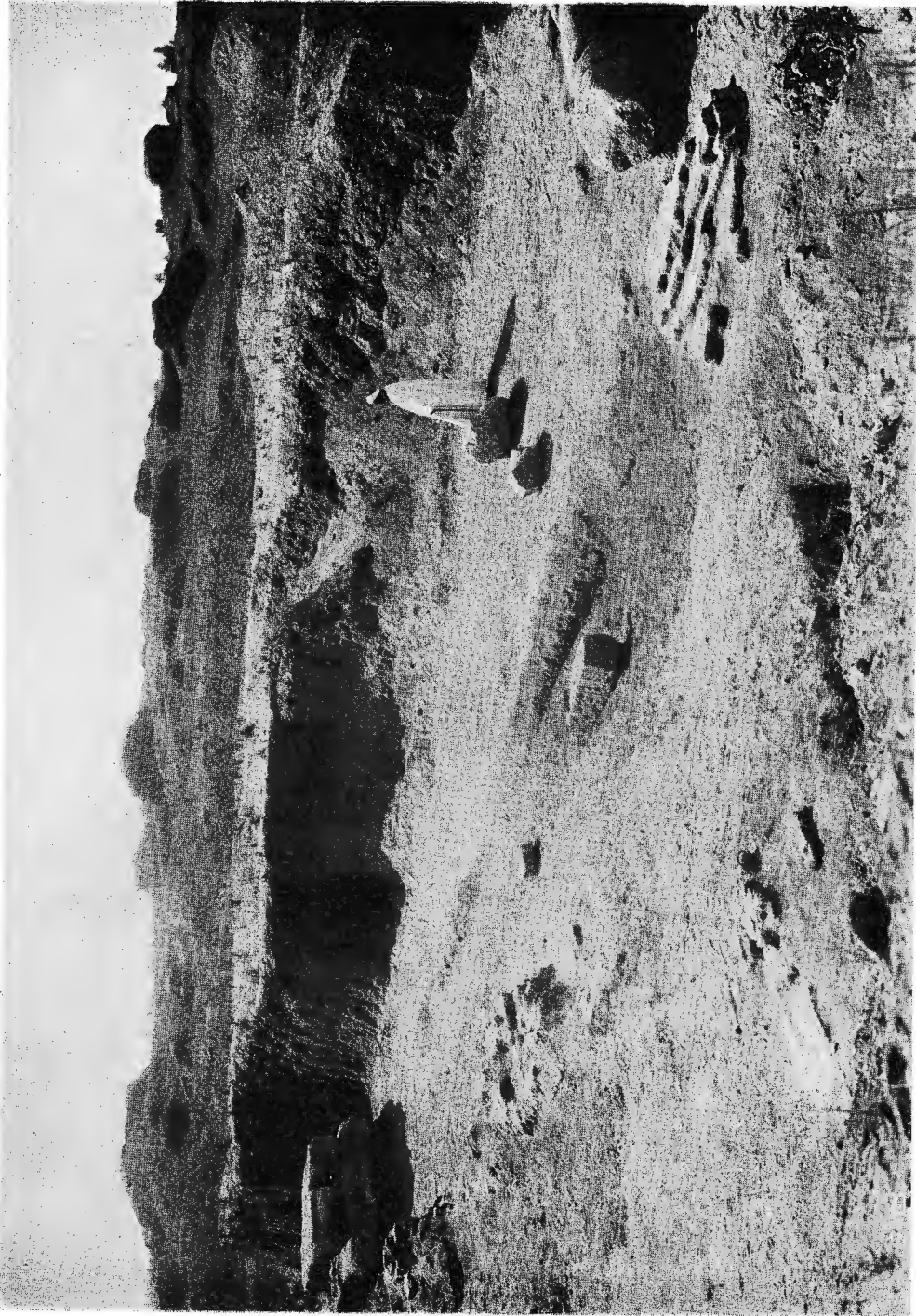
A. — Part of a façade.



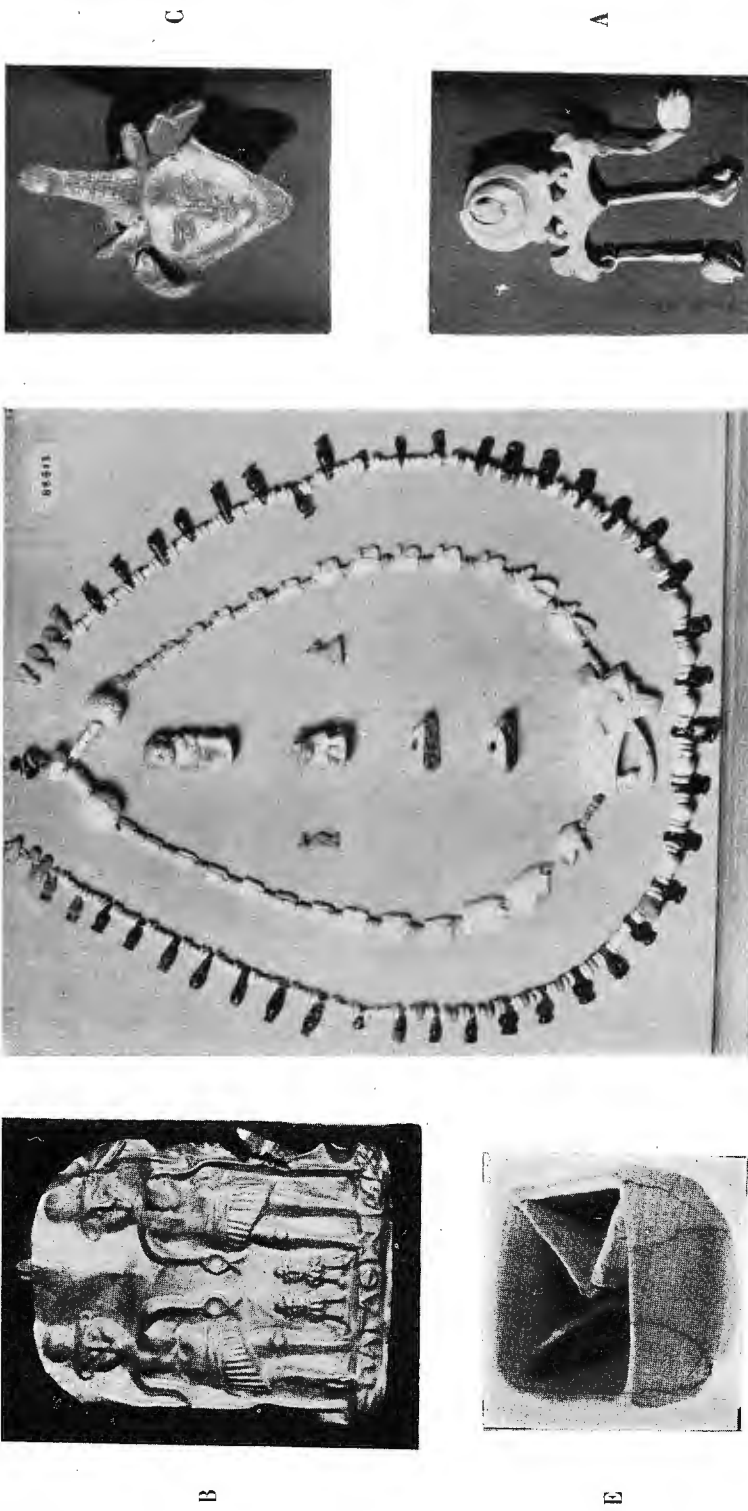
C. — Block of Amenophis II.



B. — Part of a shrine.



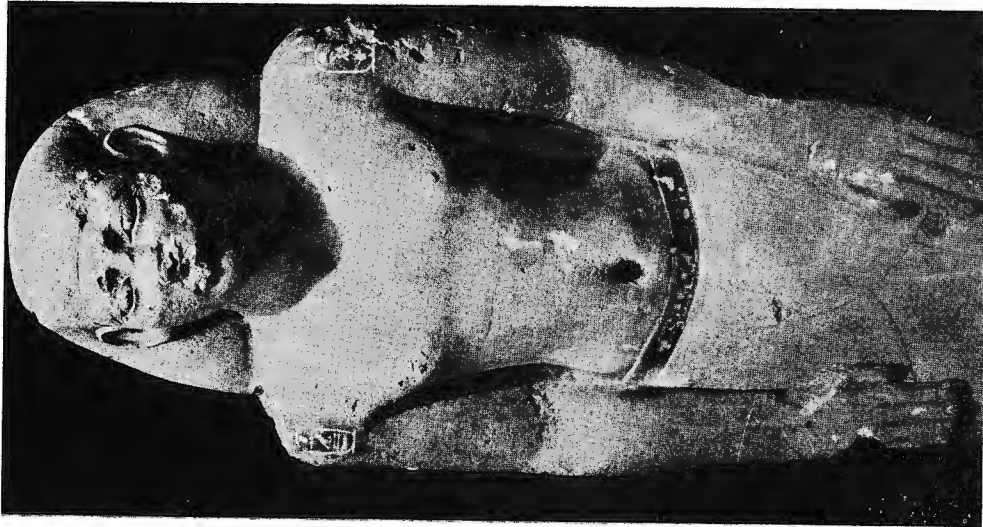
General view of the Roman Temple.



A.-E. — Objects found outside the Big Temple.



B. — Statue of Hurkhu (back).



A. — Statue of Hurkhu (face).



B. — Statue of an unknown prince (back).



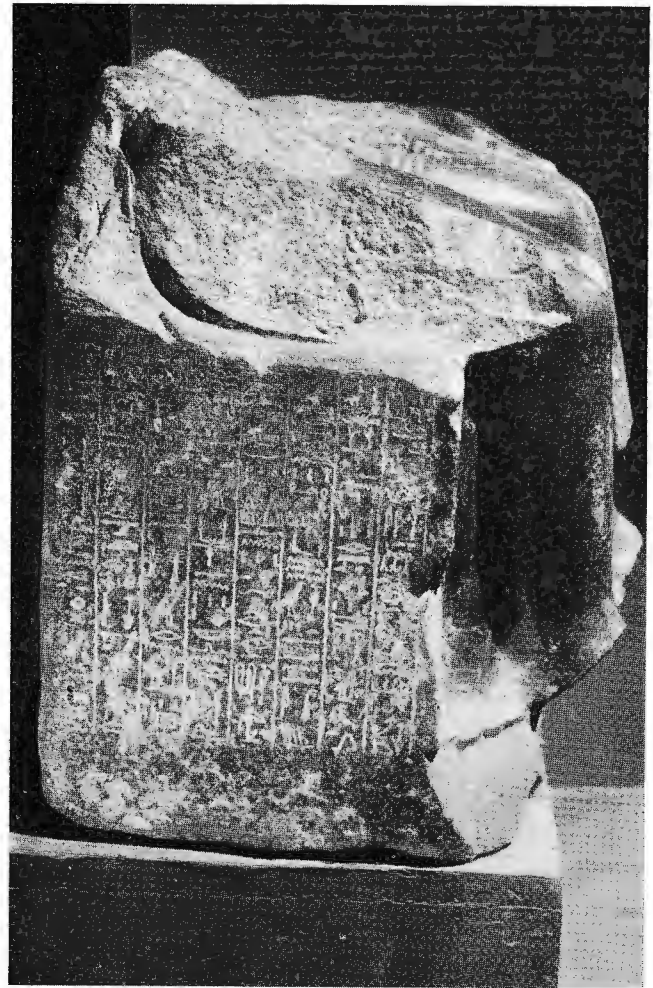
A. — Statue of an unknown prince (face).



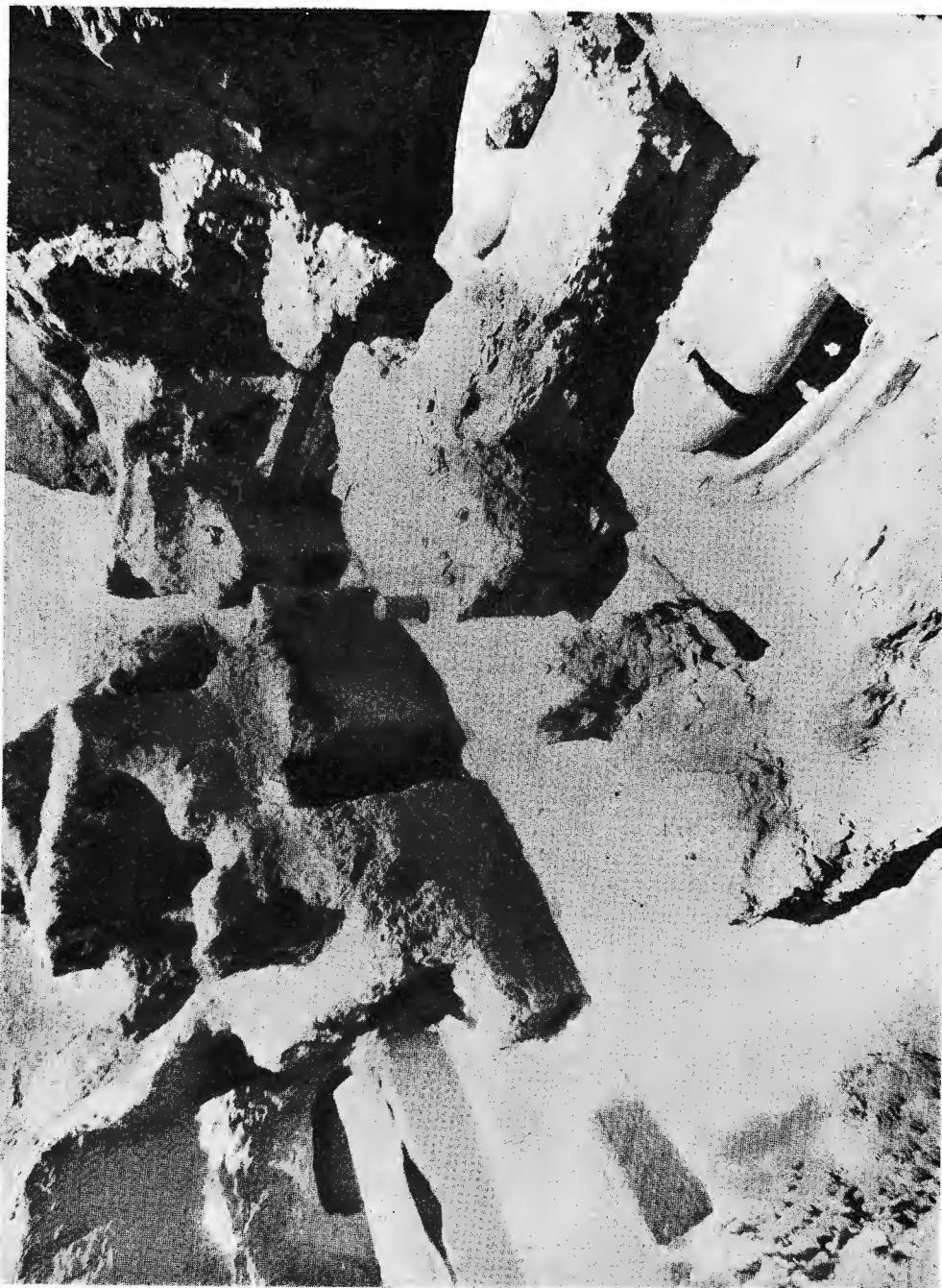
Statue of Khaemwese and his wife (face).



A. — Statue of Khaemwese and his wife (left side).



B. — Statue of Khaemwese and his wife (right side).



Family burial of Hori I.



Sphinx of Amenophis III (face).



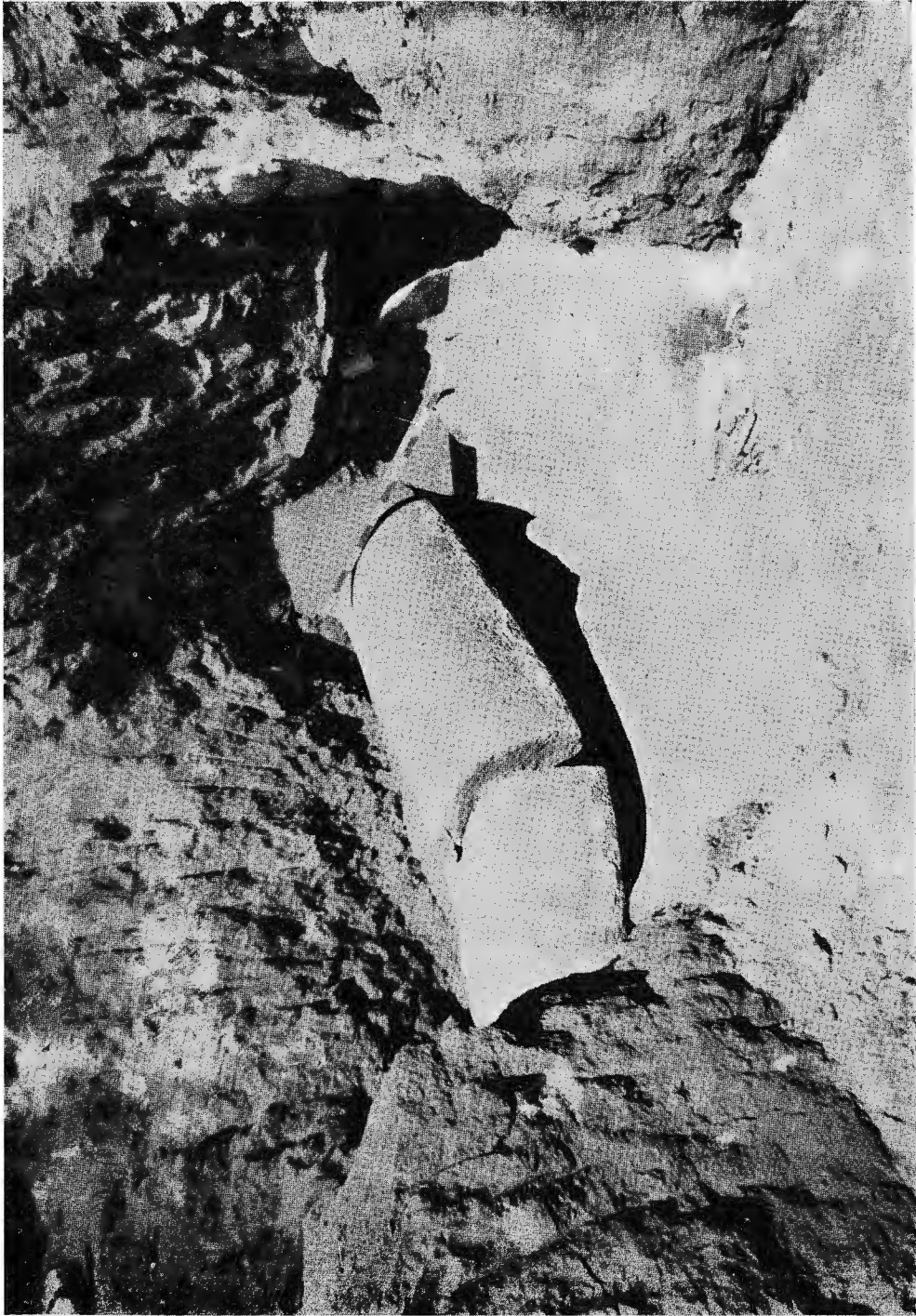
Sphinx of Amenophis III (side).



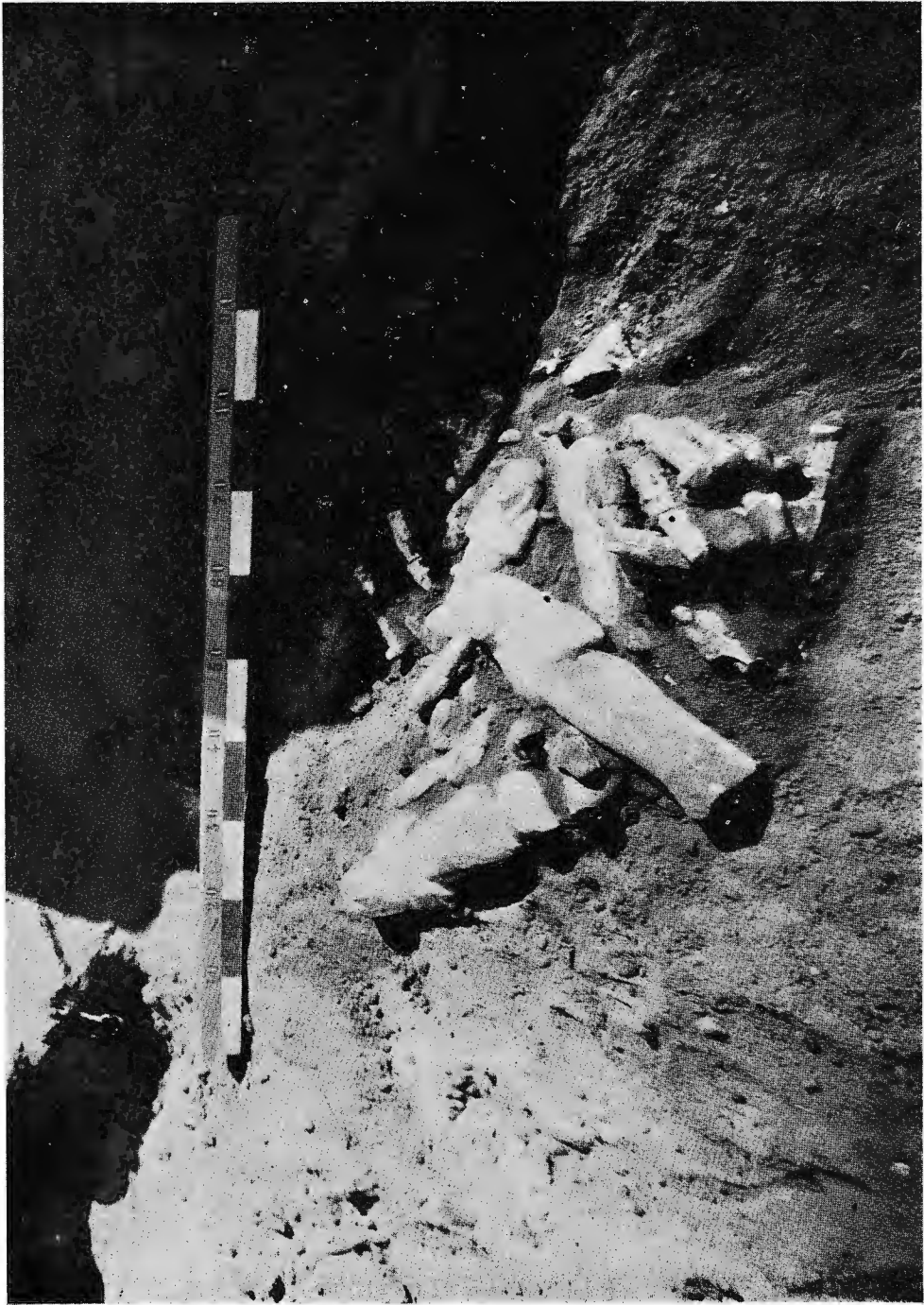
Tomb of Hori's Wife.



Box with ushabtis in tomb of Hori's wife.



Hori's tomb.



Ushabtis found in the tomb of Hori.

A



B



C



Ushabtis collected from the different burials.



B. — Wall with a part of a door nearby.



A. — Stela of Tamert and grandson.



Statue of Khaemwese and wife (face).



Statue of Khaemwese and wife (back).



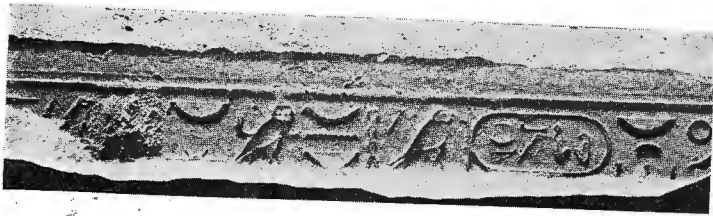
B. — Block of Gami el-Kebir.



A. — Statue of Khaemwese and wife (pedestal).



C. — Objects found in Bilbeis.



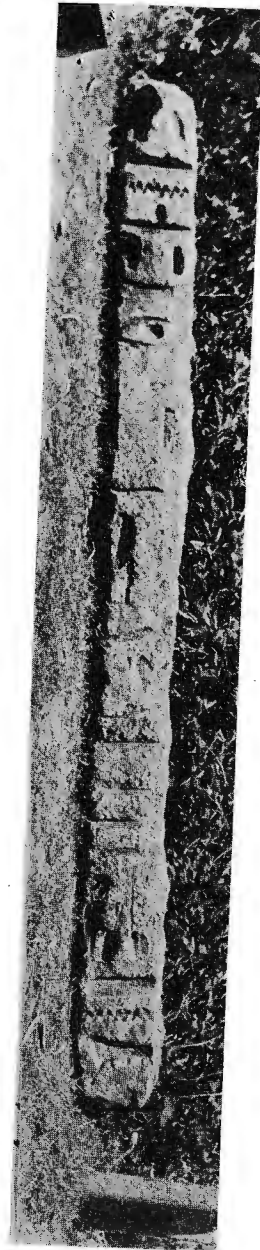
A. — Block of Sâri Es-Sâdiq in Bilbeis.



C. — Block of Atfet Abu Khereiba in Bilbeis.

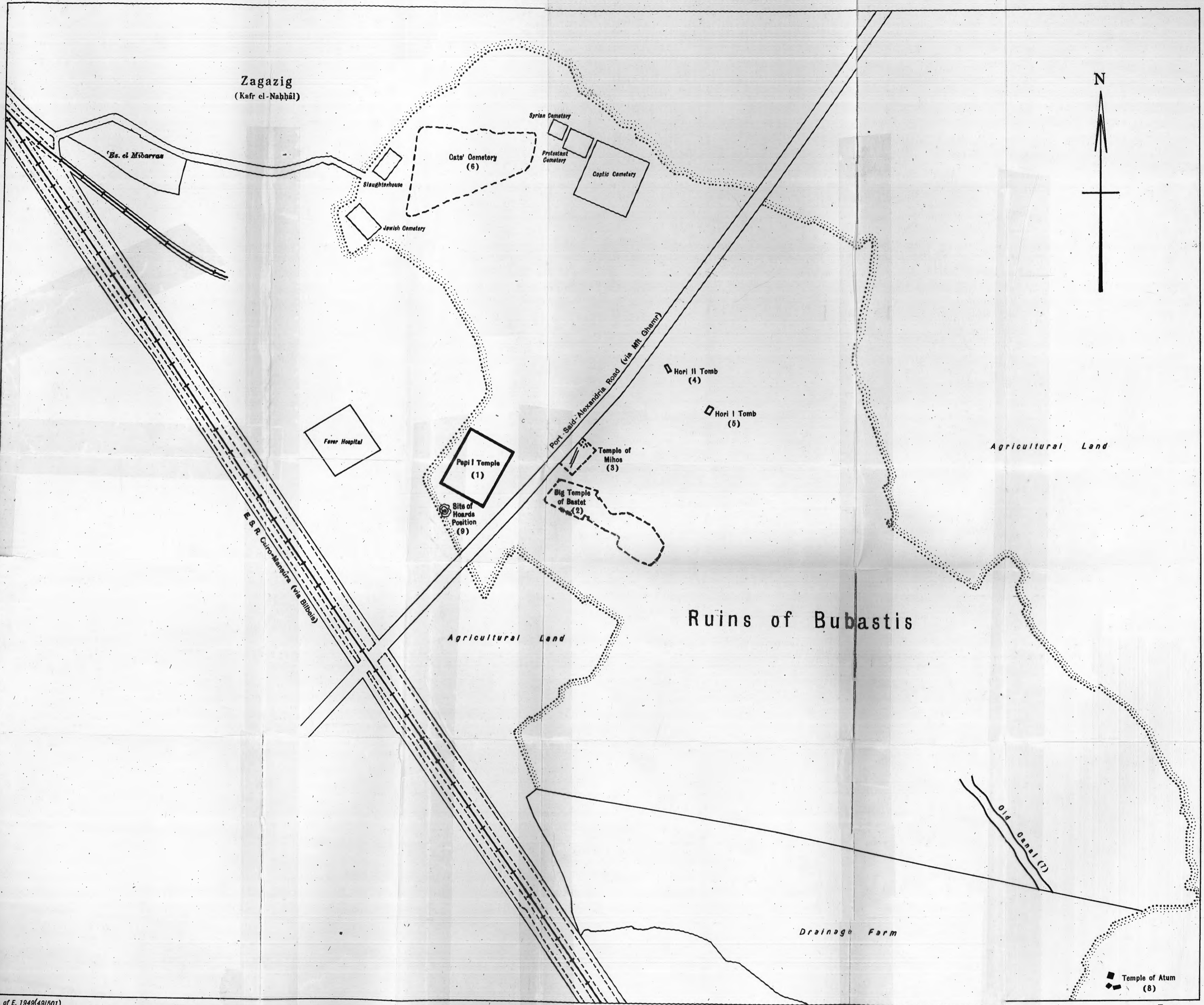


D. — Block of Sheikh El-Batriq in Bilbeis.

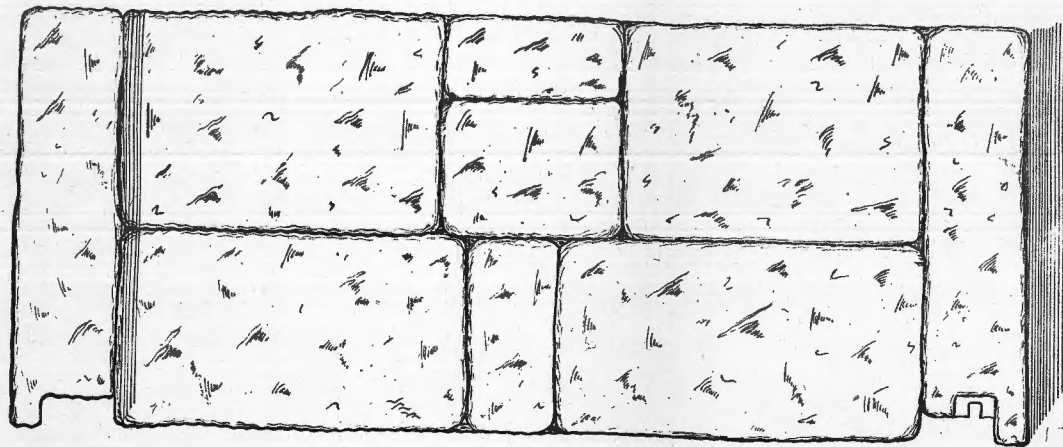


B. — Block of Hôd El-Gharbi in Bilbeis.

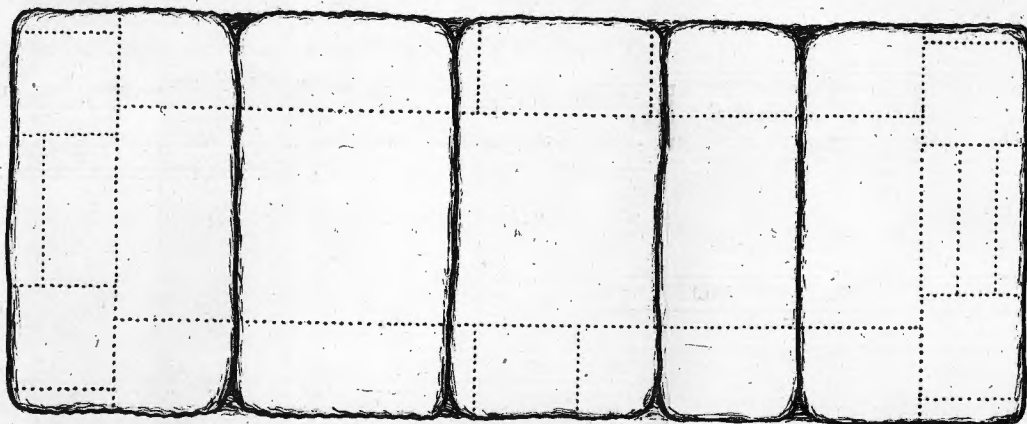
TELL BASTA PLAN OF PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS



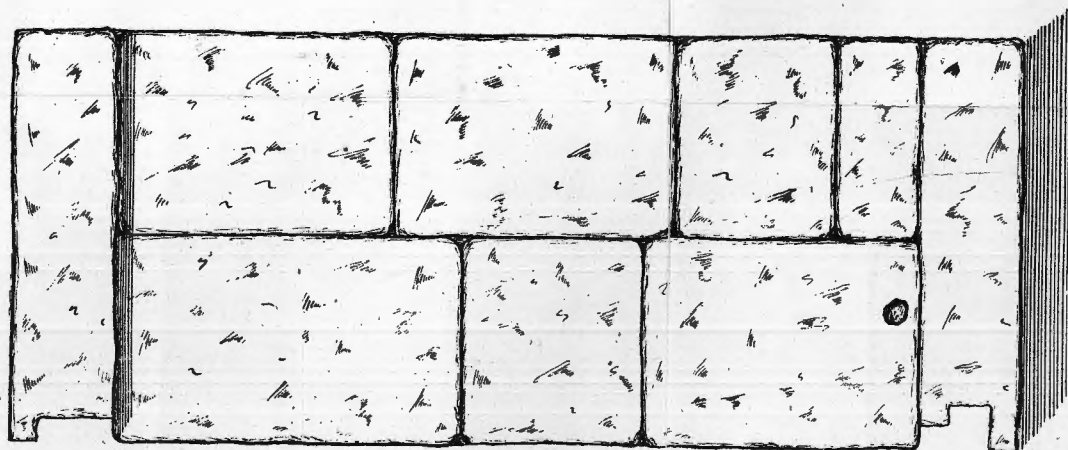
Gateway of Pepi I Temple



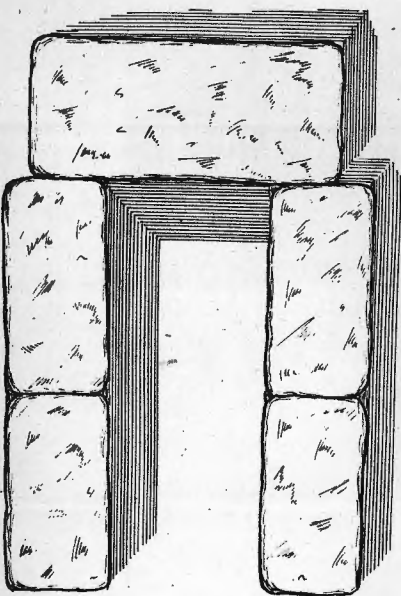
Inside West Elevation



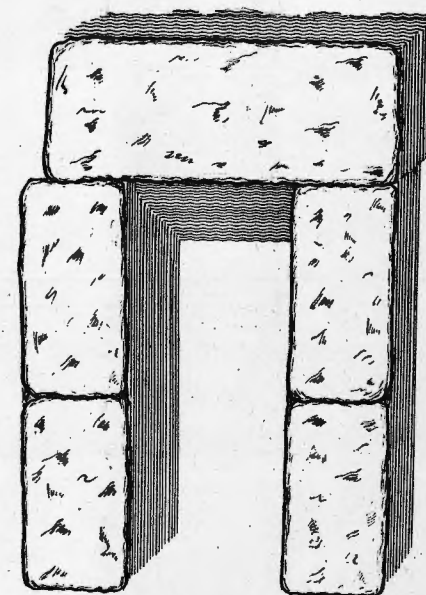
Plan



Inside East Elevation



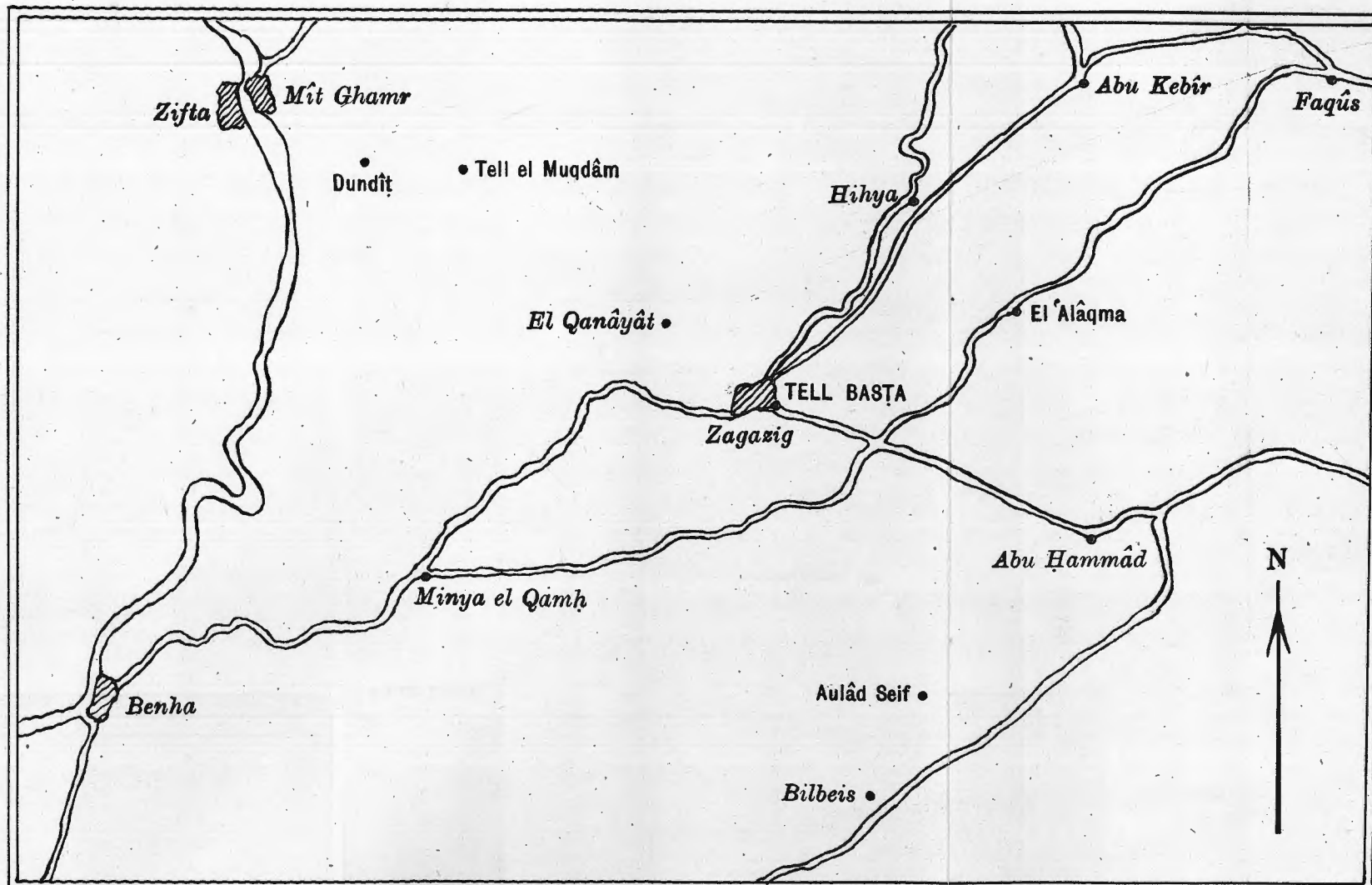
North Facade



South Facade

0 1 2 Metres

TELL BASTA
AND
Important Sites in the Vicinity

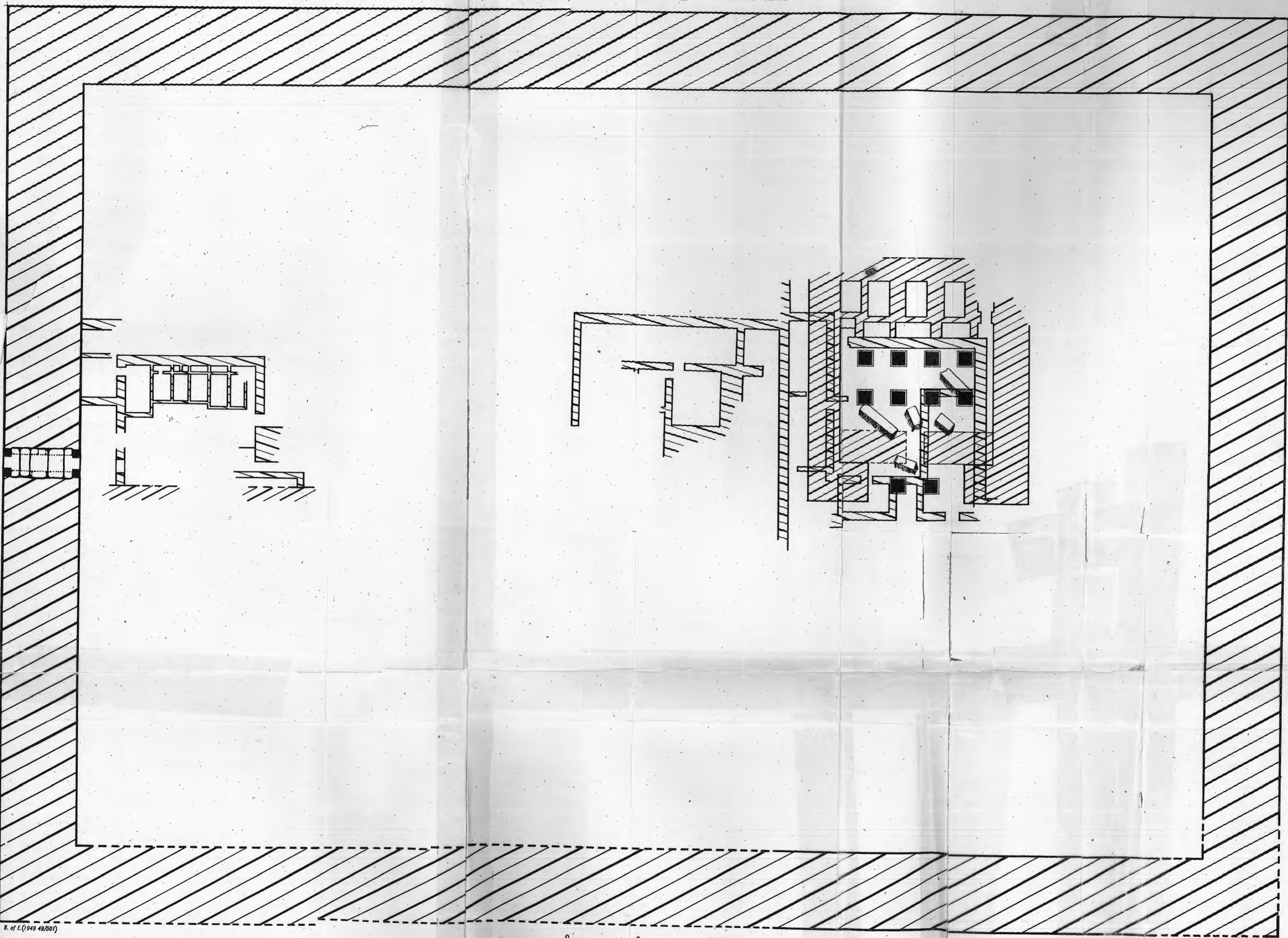


S. of E. 1949 49/501

Fawzy

0 5 10 20 Kms.

PLAN OF PEPI I TEMPLE



-  Mud Brick Old Kingdom
-  Mud Brick Late
-  Limestone